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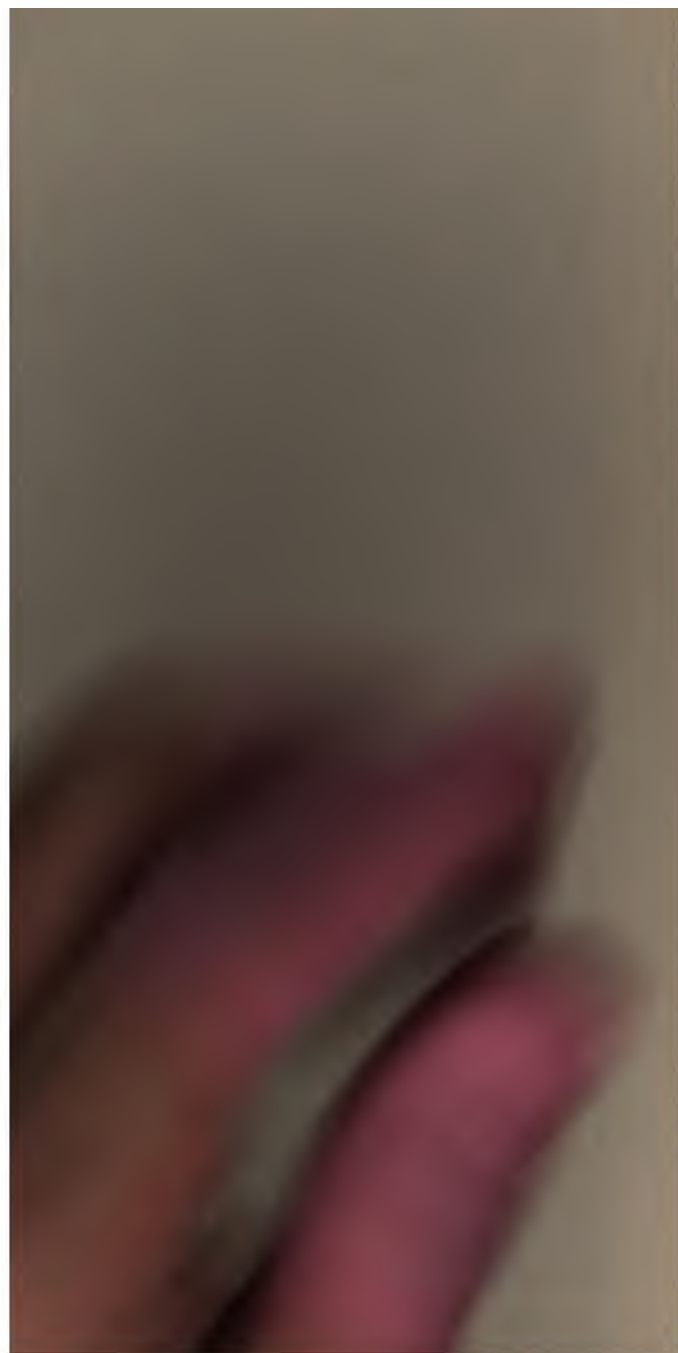
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HBC  
TRUMBULL







# HISTORY

OF THE

*Discovery of America,*

OF THE

Landing of our Forefathers,

AT PLYMOUTH,

AND OF THEIR MOST REMARKABLE

Engagements with the Indians,

IN NEW-ENGLAND,

From their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the Natives in 1679.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED, THE DEFEAT OF

GENERALS

*Braddock, Harmer, & St. Clair,*

BY THE INDIANS AT THE WESTWARD, &c.

BY HENRY TRUMBULL:

"My Countrymen—These things ought not to be forgotten, for the benefit of our Children, and those that follow them, they should be recorded in History." Dr. Franklin.

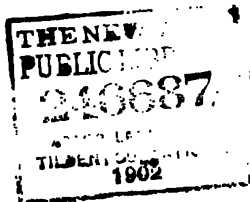
N O R V I C H :

Printed by JAMES SPRINGER, for the Author, at his office.

1812.

1812

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**DISTRICT OF CONNECTICUT, to wit :**

**BE** IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-fourth day of December, in the thirty fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, HENRY TRUMBULL, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit :—" *History of the Discovery of America—of the Landing of our Forefathers at Plymouth, and of their most remarkable engagements with the Indians, in New-England, from their first landing in 1620, until the final subjugation of the natives in 1679—to which is annexed, the Defeat of Generals Braddock, Harmer and St. Clair, by the Indians at the Westward, &c.*"

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned."

H. W. EDWARDS,  
Clerk of the District of Connecticut.



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CHAP. I.

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*DISCOVERY OF AMERICA,*  
BY  
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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**M**ANKIND owe the discovery of the western world to the gold, the silver, the precious stones, the spices, silks, and costly manufactures of the East; and even these incentives were for a considerable time, insufficient to prompt to the undertaking, although the most skilful navigator of the age proffered to risk his life in the attempt.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, who was destined to the high honor of revealing a new hemisphere to Europeans, was by birth a Genoese, who had been early trained to a seafaring life, and, having acquired every branch of knowledge connected with that profession, was no less distinguished by his skill and abilities, than for his intrepid and persevering spirit.—This man, when about forty years of age, had formed the great idea of reaching the East-Indies by sailing westward; but, as his fortune was very small, and the attempt required very effectual patronage, desirous that his native country should profit by his success, he laid his plan before the senate of Genoa, but the scheme appearing chimerical, it was rejected.—He then repaired to the court of Portugal; and although the Portuguese were at that time distinguished for their commercial spirit, and JOHN II. who then reigned, was a discerning and enterprising prince, yet the prepossessions of the great men in his court, to whom

the matter was referred, caused COLUMBUS finally to fail in his attempt there also. He next applied to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, king and queen of Aragon and Castile, and at the same time sent his brother BARTHOLOMEW (who followed the same profession; and who was well qualified to fill the immediate place under such a leader) to England, to lay the proposal before HENRY VII. which likewise, very fortunately for the future well being of the country, met with no success.—Many were the years which CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS spent in ineffectual attendance at the Castilian court; the impoverished state into which the finances of the united kingdoms were reduced, the war with Granada, repressing every disposition to attempt to great designs; but the war being at length terminated, the powerful mind of ISABELLA broke through all obstacles; she declared herself the patroness of COLUMBUS, whilst her husband FERDINAND, declining to partake as an adventurer, in the voyage, only gave it the sanction of his name. Thus did the superior genius of a *woman* effect the discovery of one half the Globe!

The ships sent on this important search were only three in number, two of them very small: they had ninety men on board. Although the expence of the expedition had long remained the sole obstacle to its being undertaken, yet, when every thing was provided, the cost did not amount to more than 17,760 dollars, and there were twelve months provisions put on board.

COLUMBUS set sail from port Palos, in the province of Andalusia, on the 3d of August, 1492: he proceeded to the Cannary Islands, and from thence directed his course due W. in the latitude of about 30 N.—In this course he continued for two months, without falling in with any land, which caused such a spirit of discontent and mutiny to arise as the superior address and management of

the commander became unequal to suppress, although for these qualities he was eminently distinguished.—He was at length reduced to the necessity of entering into a solemn engagement to abandon the enterprize and return home, if land did not appear in three days.—Probably he would not have been able to retain his people so long from acts of violence and outrage, in pursuing so untried and dreary a course, had they not been sensible that their safety in returning home, depended very much on his skill as a navigator, in conducting the vessel.

At length the appearance of land changed their despondency to the most exulting rapture.—It was an island abounding with inhabitants, both sexes of which were quite naked; their manners kind, gentle, and unsuspecting.—COLUMBUS named it San Salvador: it is one of the clusters which bears the general name of Bahama; it was only 3° 30 lat. to the S. of the island of Gomora, one of the Canaries, from whence he took his departure. This navigator was still so confirmed in the opinion which he had formed before he undertook the voyage, that he believed himself then to be on an island which was situated adjacent to the Indies.—Proceeding to the S. he saw three other islands, which he named St. Mary, of the Conception, Ferdinand and Isabella.—At length he arrived at a very large island, and as he had taken seven of the natives of San Salvador on board, he learned from them it was called Cuba, but he gave it the name of Juana.—He next proceeded to an island which he called Espagnola, in honor of the kingdom by which he was employed, and it still bears the name of Hispaniola.—Here he built a fort and formed a small settlement; he then returned home, having on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands: steering a more southern course, he fell in with some of the Carribee islands, and arrived at the Port of Palos on the 15th of

March, 1493 ; having been seven months and eleven days on this most important voyage.

On his arrival letters patent were issued by the king and queen confirming to COLUMBUS and to his heirs all the privileges contained in a capitulation which had been executed before his departure, and his family was ennobled.

Not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of COLUMBUS, in considering the countries which he had discovered, as a part of India.—Whence FERDINAND and ISABELLA gave them the name “Indies” in the ratification of their former agreement with COLUMBUS.—Even after the error was detected, the name was retained, and the appellation of “West-Indies” is now given by all Europe to this country, and that of Indians to the Inhabitants.

Nothing could possibly tend more effectually to rouse every active principle of human nature, than the discoveries which COLUMBUS had made ; no time was therefore lost, nor expence spared, in preparing a fleet of ships, with which this great man should revisit the countries he had made known.—Seventeen ships were got ready in six months, and fifteen hundred persons embarked on board them, among whom were many of noble families, and who had filled honorable stations.—These engaged in the enterprize from the expectation that the new discovered country was either the Cipango of Marco Paulo, or the Ophir from which SOLOMON obtained his gold and precious merchandize. FERDINAND, now desirous of securing what he had before been unwilling to venture for the obtaining, applied to the Pope to be invested with a right in these new discovered countries, as well as to all future discoveries in that direction ; but as it was necessary that there should be some favor of religion in the business, he founded his plea on a desire of converting

the savage natives to the Romish faith, which plan had its desired effect.

ALEXANDER VI. who then filled the papal chair, it ought to be mentioned, was the most profligate and abandoned of men : being a native of Aragon, and desirous of conciliating the favor of FERDINAND, for the purpose of aggrandizing his family, he readily granted a request, which, at no expence or risk, tended to extend the consequence and authority of the papacy : he therefore bestowed on FERDINAND and ISABELLA, "all the countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered." But as it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with one not long before made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred miles to the westward of the Azores should serve as a limit between them ; and in the plenitude of his power, conferred all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards.

COLUMBUS set sail on his voyage from the port of Cadiz, on the 25th of September, 1493 ; when he arrived at St. Espagniola, he had the affliction to find that all the Spaniards whom he had left there, amounting to thirty-six in number, had been put to death by the natives, in revenge for the insults and outrages which they had committed.—After having traced out the plan of a town in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and given it the name of ISABELLA, in honor of his patroness the queen of Castile, and appointed his brother DON DIEGO, to preside as Deputy Governor in his absence, COLUMBUS, on the 24th of April, 1494, sailed with one ship and two small barks, to make further discoveries in those seas.—In this voyage he was employed five months, and fell in with many small islands on the coast of Cuba, but with none of any importance except the island of Jamaica.



Soon after his return to Hispaniola, he resolved to make war with the Indians, who according to the Spanish historians, amounted to 100,000 men; these having experienced every lawless act of violence from their invaders, were rendered extremely inveterate, and thirsted for revenge, a disposition which appears to have been foreign from their natures.—Having collected his full force, he attacked them by night, whilst they were assembled on a wide plain, and obtained a most decisive victory, without the loss of one man on his part.—Beside the effect of cannon and fire arms, the noise of which was appalling, and their effect against a numerous body of Indians, closely drawn together, in the highest degree destructive, COLUMBUS had brought over with him a small body of cavalry.—The Indians who had never before seen such a creature, imagined the Spanish horses to be rational beings, and that each with its rider formed but one animal; they were astonished at their speed, and considered their impetuosity and strength as irresistible.—In this onset they had beside another formidable enemy to terrify and destroy them: a great number of the largest and fiercest species of dogs which were then bred in Europe, had been brought hither, which, set on by their weapons, without attempting resistance, they fled with all the speed which terror could excite.—Numbers were slain, and more made prisoners, who were immediately consigned to slavery.

The character of COLUMBUS stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance, as no impediments, dangers or sufferings could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue.—His second son FERDINAND, who wrote the life of his father, apologises for this severity towards the na-

tives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: the change of climate, and the indispensable labors which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers, and the survivors were declining daily, whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circumspect conduct on the part of the Spaniards, would not have been effectual to regain their good will.—This apology seems to have been generally admitted, for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendations unmixed with censure.—It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted merit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions could only originate in weak minds, and can be countenanced only by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny of facts, can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character.—That COLUMBUS had formed the design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and, consequently before he was apprized of the destruction of the people which he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his proceeding himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs.

Having found the natives peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities; the cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free

people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony; for as the grand incentive to undertake the distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as COLUMBUS had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize: the Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives, and those were so constitutionally indolent that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labor.—To rescue himself therefore from disgrace, and to secure further support he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter and slavery.—Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountains and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them which was rigorously exacted.—These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity; compelled to labour for the support of life: a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered unsupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice.—Such are the facts which have ever been admitted, yet, strange contradiction!—COLUMBUS is celebrated for his humanity and goodness! but should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dissembler; professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion, and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing



every principle of justice and humanity when they stopped the career of his ambition !—FERDINAND COLUMBUS, his son, and biographer, has with great address covered the shame of his father, whilst the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

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## CHAP. II.

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### *LANDING OF OUR FOREFATHERS,* AT PLYMOUTH.

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THE English, conducted by JOHN CABOT, in the year 1497, found the way to North-America soon after COLUMBUS had successfully crossed the Atlantic ; but as the torrents in that country brought down no gold, and the Indians were not bedecked with any costly ornaments, no attempts were made to explore the country for near a century after its discovery.—Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, who traversed the whole circumference of the globe in one voyage, and in one ship, which had never been atchieved before, when afterward annoying the Spaniards in the West-Indies, and on the main, gained some knowledge of the eastern shore of the northern continent, as he had before of the western parts about the same parallel :—Sir WALTER RALEIGH, however, was the first navigator who explored the coast, bestowed on it a name, and attempted to settle a colony.

At that time colonization made no part of the system of government, so that there were few stimulents to abandon a native soil for the purpose of seeking possessions in another hemisphere.—At length a powerful incentive arose, stronger than the influence of kings, than the love

of ease, than the dread of misery.—*Religion*, which had long been converted into the most powerful engine which human subtlety ever made use of to subjugate the mass of mankind, no sooner ceased to be so perverted, than by its own proper force it compelled large bodies of people to renounce every present enjoyment, the instinctive love of a native soil, rooted habits, and dearest connexions, and to settle in the dreary wilds of a far distant continent.

When England by a very singular concurrence of circumstances, threw off the papal yoke, state policy so predominated in the measure, that the consciences of men were still required to bend to the discipline, conform to the ceremonies, and ascent to the doctrines which the governing powers established.—Although a dissent from the church of Rome was considered as meritorious, yet a dissent from the church of England was held to be heretical, and an offence to be punished by the civil magistrate.—The human mind, somewhat awakened from a long suspension of its powers by a *Wickliffe*, further enlightened by an *Erasmus* and *Melanthon*, and at length called forth into energy by the collision of those two ardent and daring spirits, *LUTHER* and *CALVIN*, then began to bend all its attention towards religious enquiries; and exercised all its powers in such pursuits.—Hence arose a vast diversity of opinions, which gave rise to numerous sects and denominations of Christians, but as the protestant establishment in England, held it essential to preserve a unity of faith, these novel opinions obtained no more quarter there than under papal power.

In the year 1610, a company of the persecuted religionists, composing the church of a Mr. *ROBINSON*, having previously determined to remove to a country where they might be enabled to worship God, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, emigrated to Holland, and settled in the city of Leyden; where they con-

tinued to reside until the year 1620. Although the ecclesiastical laws of Holland did not at this time sanction or condemn the principles of any particular sect of christians, yet great were the disadvantages under which the emigrants labored; for notwithstanding the Dutch gave them a welcome reception, and manifested a disposition to treat them with great respect, they never could be prevailed upon by the former to conform to their mode of worship, or to renounce principles which the English conceived destructive to moral society;—nor did the emigrants here succeed in other respects agreeable to their views—so far from increasing their little flock they found that in the course of ten years, they had experienced a diminution of more than one half their original number—many, in consequence of the impoverished state of the country, had spent their estates and returned to England. Hence it was that the remaining few formed the determination of attempting once more to seek a country better adapted to their pious purposes, and such as would promise a more fruitful abode to their offspring. By some the unexplored parts of America was proposed, and after a day set apart for solemn humiliation and praise to ALMIGHTY GOD, it was resolved that a part of the church should first emigrate to America, and if there meeting with a favorable reception, should prepare an abode for the remainder.

They easily obtained a royal grant of a very extensive tract of land (now called New-England) whither they intended to repair, not to amass wealth, or to exterminate the inhabitants, but to subsist by industry, to purchase security by honorable intercourse with the natives, and to acquire strength under the auspices of freedom.

They made a purchase of two small ships, and on the 5th August, 1620, having repaired to Plymouth (Eng.) for the purpose, were in readiness to embark; previous

to which they were very affectionately addressed by their pious pastor (Dr. Robinson) who in fervent prayer commended them to the holy keeping of Him, who rules the destinies of all men.

At 11 A. M. with a fair wind they set sail, and bid adieu forever to their native country. Nothing material occurred to obstruct their passage until the 20th, when they experienced a tremendous gale, which threatened them with instant destruction!—for three days successively they were tossed about at the mercy of the waves—the ships were however enabled to keep company until the storm had somewhat abated, when those on board one of them conceiving their vessel no longer seaworthy, abandoned her and were received on board the other.

On the 10th November, they to their inexpressible joy, discovered land, which proved to be that of Cape Cod, where they with much difficulty the day following succeeded in landing—as soon as on shore they fell upon their knees and returned thanks to the Almighty for enabling them to reach in safety their place of destination.—But, although they had thus far succeeded in their views, although they had been enabled to flee from persecution, to cross a wide and boisterous ocean, what was their situation now!—sojourners in a foreign land!—traversing the broken and unwrought shores of a wild and unexplored country!—they found here no friends to welcome them, or house to shelter them from the inclemency of an approaching winter!—on one side they beheld nought but a hideous and desolate wilderness, the habitation of wild and voracious animals, and probably the abode of a race of beings not less wild and unmerciful!—on the other, the briney ocean foaming and with tremendous roar dashing against the huge and projecting rocks, which as far as the eye could perceive, marked the sea-beaten shores!



After succeeding with much difficulty in discovering a harbor in which their ships could ride with safety, they made choice of ten of the most resolute of their number to explore the adjacent country, and discover if possible a more convenient place for their future abode; who, on the morning of the 16th, provided with a musket each, set out for this purpose—they had not penetrated the woods above three miles when they discovered five of the natives (which were the first seen by them since their arrival) they were clothed with the skins of animals, and armed with bows and arrows—the English, with signs of friendship made toward them, but were no sooner discovered by the savages, than they, with a terrible yell, fled with the greatest precipitancy:—night approaching, the English erected a small temporary encampment and after placing their sentinels retired to rest. Early the ensuing morning they continued their journey, following for a considerable distance the tracts of the five Indians above mentioned, in hopes thereby to discover their habitations and obtain therefrom a fresh supply of provision, of which they were much in want; but in this they did not fully succeed.—At about noon they arrived at an extensive plat of clear ground, near which they discovered a pond of fresh water, and several small hillocks of raised earth, which they conjectured to be the graves of the Indians—proceeding a little further west they discovered a large quantity of stubble, which they imagined to be that of some kind of Indian grain peculiar to the country; they also discovered a spot where they suspected an Indian hut had recently stood, as they found nearby some planks curiously wrought and a small earthen pot—proceeding still farther they discovered a number more of the little hillocks of broken ground as above described, and which they now began to suspect to be the place of deposit of something more than the

dead!—curiosity leading them to examine more closely one of these what they had before supposed to be Indian sepulchers, they to their great surprize, found it to contain a large quantity of the Indian grain (corn) above mentioned!—it was still in the ear, and excited to no small degree the curiosity of the English, as they had never before seen any thing of the kind—by a few of the company the discovery was deemed of importance, but by others (who had attempted to eat of the corn in its raw state) it was pronounced indifferent food, of little value!—they however concluded it best to return and make known the discovery to their brethren.

Having succeeded with some difficulty in reaching the place from which they started, they were met by those whom they had left behind with the most unspeakable joy and satisfaction: to whom they exhibited a specimen of the grain which they had found, and recommended the spot from which it was procured, as the most convenient and suitable at which to abide through the approaching winter. The company accordingly on the 25th proceeded for and in safety reached the place above mentioned, with which being so much pleased, they termed *New Plymouth*, in remembrance of the port at which they last embarked in Europe;—here they concluded to abide until such time as further discoveries could be made—they erected a few temporary huts, sufficient to shelter them from the weather, and soon after by mutual consent entered into a solemn combination, as a body politick; and on the 10th December assembled to form for themselves such a government and laws as they should deem the most just and equitable; previous to which, the following instrument was drawn up, which being first read and assented to by the company, received their signatures:—to wit:

“ IN the name of God, amen—We whose names are

underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign king JAMES, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, and defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken for the glory of God, advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the north parts of America, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our own convenience and the preservation and support of the ends aforesaid:—and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony—unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.—In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at New-Plymouth, on the 10th day of December, A: D. 1620."

John Carver;	John Alden,
William Bradford;	John Turner,
Edward Winslow;	Francis Eaton;
William Brewster,	James Chilton,
Isaac Allerton,	John Craxton,
Miles Standish,	John Billington,
Joseph Fletcher,	Richard Bitteridge,
John Goodman,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	Edward Tilley,
Christopher Martin,	John Tilley,
William White,	Thomas Rogers,
Richard Warren,	Thomas Tinker,
John Howland,	John Ridgdale,
Stephen Hopkins,	Edward Fuller,
Didgery Priest,	Richard Clarke,
Thomas Williams,	Richard Gardiner,
Gilbert Winslow,	John Allerton,
Edmund Morgeson,	Thomas English,
Peter Brown,	Edward Liester.

The company next proceeded by ballot to the choice

of a Governor, and on counting the votes it appeared that JOHN CARVER had the greatest number and was declared chosen for one year.

On the 19th December, Mrs. SUSANNAH WHITE, the wife of WILLIAM WHITE, was delivered of a son, which was *the first born of the English in New-England.*

On the 21st it was agreed by the company to dispatch a second exploring party, by water, to make if possible further discoveries—the persons selected for this purpose were Governor CARVER, Messrs. BRADFORD, WINSLOW, STANDISH, HOWLAND, WARREN, HOPKINS, ALLERTON, TILLEY, CLARKE, TINKER, TURNER and BROWN;—they embarked at 10 A. M. with a view of circumnavigating the deep bay of Cape Cod.—On the morning of the 23d they discovered a large party of the natives on shore, who were employed in cutting up a fish resembling a grampus; by order of Governor CARVER, the English made immediately for the shore, but were no sooner discovered by the Indians, than they, with a yell peculiar to savages, deserted their fish and fled with precipitancy!—The English landed and took possession of the fish, which, having enkindled a fire, they cooked and found to be excellent food;—they concluded to continue encamped here through the night, and while employed (a few rods from their boat in which their arms were deposited) in erecting a temporary dwelling for the purpose, they were suddenly attacked by a large party of the natives, who discharged a shower of arrows among them!—the English, nearly panic struck at so sudden and unexpected an onset, were on the eve of retreating to their boat, when they were reminded by their Governor (a brave and experienced man) of the importance of facing the enemy, and maintaining their ground, as a precipitate flight might prove their total destruction—in the mean time two or three of the company were dispatched



for their arms, which having obtained, the whole were ordered to form a close body and proceed with moderate pace for the boat, and if hard pushed by the natives, to face about and give them the contents of their muskets :—the Indians perceiving the English retiring, rushed from their strong coverts, and were on the point of attacking them in the rear with clubs, hatchets, stones, &c. when they received the fire of the latter, which brought three or four of them to the ground—the Indians halted, viewed for a few moments with marks of astonishment and surprize, their wounded brethren, and then with one general united yell (which probably might have been heard at the distance of three miles) fled in every direction !—this was *the first engagement between the English and natives in New-England*, and probably *the first time that the latter had ever heard the report of a musket !*

The English embarked and returned immediately to New-Plymouth, having been absent four days without making any important discoveries. The company despairing of making any further discovery of importance during the winter, concluded to remain at their winter quarters until the spring ensuing. The winter proved an uncommonly tedious one, during which a great proportion of the company sickened and died—unaccustomed to hardship, and deprived of many of the necessaries of life, they fell victims to the inclemency of the season ;—being thus reduced to a very small number, they would have fallen an easy prey to the savages, had the latter (relying on the superiority of their strength) attacked them—but the natives having by bitter experience learned the effects of their fire-arms, although they were daily seen by the English at a distance, not one of them could be prevailed upon to approach them within gun shot, until about the 20th March, 1621, when to their great surprize, an Indian came boldly up to them and addressed

them in broken English !—he informed them that he belonged to an eastern part of the country, and was acquainted with a number of their countrymen, who came frequently there to procure fish, and of whom he learned to speak their language.

This Indian proved very serviceable to the company, in supplying them with provision, in acquainting them with the state of the country, the number and strength of the natives, and the name of their chief sachem, to whom he said the land which they improved belonged.—The Indian being dismissed with many presents and friendly assurances, he the day following returned accompanied by the grand sachem (MASSASOJET) and a number of his chief men, to whom the English gave a welcome reception, presenting them with many trinkets which the natives esteemed of great value.—With MASSASOJET a treaty was proposed and concluded the day following, in which it was stipulated that the English and natives were to live amicably together, and that the latter were to furnish the former with provision, and to receive in pay therefor such articles as the former were willing to part with—to which terms both parties continued ever after faithfully to adhere.

In May 1621, the English *planted their first corn in New-England*.—In July following their worthy Governor sickened and died—his death was greatly lamented by those of the company who survived him, and by whom he was interred with all possible solemnity; his loving consort survived him but a few weeks. In August the company made choice of Mr. WILLIAM BRADFORD, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Gov. CARVER.

New-England from this period began to be rapidly peopled by the Europeans; so great was the emigration from the mother country, that in less than six years from the time that the first adventurers landed at New-Ply;

mouth, there were seven considerable towns built and settled in Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies.

In the summer of 1627, Mr. ENDICOT, one of the original planters, was sent over to begin a plantation at Naumkeag, (now Salem)—the June following about 200 persons, furnished with four ministers, came over and joined Mr. ENDICOT's colony; and the next year they formed themselves into a regular church. This was the first church gathered in Massachusetts, and the second in New-England. The church at Plymouth had been gathered eight years before. In 1629, a large embarkation was projected by the company in England; at the request of a number of respectable gentlemen, most of whom afterwards came over to New-England, the general consent of the company was obtained, that the government should be transferred and settled in Massachusetts.

In 1630, seventeen ships from different ports in England arrived in Massachusetts, with more than 1500 passengers, among whom were many persons of distinction. Incredible were the hardships they endured—reduced to a scanty pittance of provisions, and that of a kind to which they had not been accustomed, and destitute of necessary accommodations, numbers sickened and died; so that before the end of the year, they had lost 200 of their number. About this time settlements were made at Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury and Medford.

In the year 1632 and 1633, great additions were made to the colony. Such was the rage for emigration to New-England, that the king and council thought fit to issue an order, February 7, 1633, to prevent it. The order however, was not strictly obeyed.

In 1635, the foundation of a new colony was laid in Connecticut, adjoining the river which passes through the state; of this river and the country adjacent. Lord

SAY, and Lord BROOK, were the proprietors, at the mouth of said river a fort by their direction was built, which in honor to them, was called Saybrook fort.—New-Haven was settled soon after the building of this fort, as was a number of other towns of considerable note in Connecticut.—Some difficulty arising among those who first settled at New-Plymouth, a part of the inhabitants, to prevent any serious consequences, removed to a pleasant and fertile island to the S. W. of Cape Cod, now called Rhode Island, while others settled at Providence, Warwick, Taunton, &c.—thus it was, that in the course of a very few years, a great part of *New-England*, which so late was an uncultivated forest, resounding with the yells of savages, and beasts of prey, became the place of abode of our persecuted Forefathers.

But, this newly settled country was not to be acquired without bloodshed; the natives, although they at first appeared harmless and well disposed toward the new settlers, from the rapid increase and too frequent aggressions of the latter, the jealousy of the former was excited, which they soon began more openly to manifest as will appear by what follows :—

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### CHAP. III.

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#### COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE NATIVES.

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THERE was a tribe of Indians which inhabited the borders of Connecticut river, from its mouth to, within a few miles of Hartford, called *Pequots*, a fierce cruel, and warlike tribe, and the inveterate enemies of the English; never failing to improve every opportunity to exercise toward them, the most wanton acts of bar-

barity:—In June, 1634, they treacherously murdered a Capt. STONE and a Capt. NORTON, who had been long in the habit of visiting them occasionally to trade.—In August, 1635, they inhumanly murdered a Mr. WEEKS and his whole family, consisting of a wife and six children, and soon after murdered the wife and children of a Mr. WILLIAMS, residing near Hartford.—Finding, however, that by their unprovoked acts of barbarity, they had enkindled the resentment of the English (who, aroused to a sense of their danger, were making preparations to exterminate this cruel tribe) the Pequots despatched messengers with gifts to the governor of the new colonies (the Hon. JOSIAH WINSLOW)—he being, however, inflexible in his determination to revenge the deaths of his friends, dismissed these messengers without an answer.—The Pequots finding the English resolute and determined, and fearing the consequence of their resentment, the second time despatched messengers with a large quantity of *wampum* (Indian money) as a present to the governor and council: with whom the latter had a considerable conference, and at length concluded a peace on the following terms:—

#### A R T I C L E S.

I. The Pequots shall deliver up to the English those of their tribe that are guilty of the deaths of their countrymen.

II. The Pequots shall relinquish to the English all their right and title to the lands lying within the colony of Connecticut.

III. The English, if disposed to trade with the Pequots, shall be treated as friends.

To these articles the Pequots readily agreed and promised faithfully to adhere, and at the same time expressed a desire to make peace with the Narraganset Indians with whom they were then at war.

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Pequots, the English, to put their fair promises to the test, sent a small boat into the river, on the borders of which they resided, with the pretence of trade; but so great was the treachery of the natives, that after succeeding by fair promises in enticing the crew of said boat on shore, they were by them, inhumanly murdered.

The Pequots despairing of again deceiving the English in the manner they had late done, now threw off the mask of friendship, and avowing themselves the natural enemies of the English, commenced open hostilities against them, barbarously murdering all that were so unfortunate as to fall into their hands.—A few families were at this time settled at or near Weathersfield, (Con.) the whole of whom were carried away captives by them; two girls, the daughters of a Mr. GIBBONS, of Hartford, were in the most brutal manner put to death; after gashing their flesh with their knives, the Indians filled their wounds with hot embers, in the mean time mimicking their dying groans.

The Pequots, encouraged by the trifling resistance made by the English to their wanton acts of barbarity, on the 20th June, 1636, besieged fort Saybrook, in which there were about twenty men stationed; the Indians were to the number of about one hundred and fifty, they surrounded and furiously attacked the fort at midnight, horribly yelling and mimicking the dying groans of such as had fallen victims to their barbarity: but the English being fortunately provided with a piece of cannon or two, caused their savage enemies to groan in reality, who, after receiving two or three deadly fires from the besieged, retreated, leaving behind them dead or mortally wounded about twenty of their number; the English sustained no loss in the attack.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts colony,



alarmed at the bold and daring conduct of the Pequots; on the 20th August dispatched Capt. ENDICOT, of Salem, with ninety men, to avenge the murders committed by them, unless they should consent to deliver up the murderers, and make reparation for the injuries which the English had sustained. Capt. ENDICOT was directed to proceed first to Block Island (then inhabited by the Pequots) put the men to the sword and take possession of the island—the women and children were to be spared—thence he was to proceed to the Pequot country, demand the murderers of the English, a thousand fathom of wampum, and a number of their children as hostages.

Capt. ENDICOT sailed from Boston on the morning of the 20th, when he arrived at Block-Island, about sixty Indians appeared on the shore and opposed his landing; his men soon however effected a landing and after a little skirmishing drove the Indians into the woods, where they could not be found. The English continued two days on the island, in which time they destroyed 100 wigwams and about 50 canoes, when they proceeded for the Pequot country,—When they arrived in Pequot harbour, Capt. ENDICOT acquainted the enemy with his designs and determination to avenge the cruelties practiced upon his countrymen—in a few moments nearly 500 of the enemy collected upon the shores, but as soon as they were made acquainted with the hostile views of the English, they hastily withdrew, and secreted themselves in swamps and ledges, inaccessible to the troops;—Capt. ENDICOT landed his men on both sides the harbour, burnt their wigwams and destroyed their canoes, killed an Indian or two, and then returned to Boston!—Enough indeed had been done to exasperate but nothing to subdue a haughty and warlike enemy.

SASSACUS (chief sachem of the Pequots) and his captains, were men of great and independent spirits; they

had conquered and governed the nations around them without controul—they viewed the English as strangers and mere intruders, who had no right to the country; nor to controul its original proprietors, independent princes and sovereigns—they had made settlements at Connecticut without their consent, and brought home the Indian kings whom they had conquered, and restored to them their authority and lands—they had built a fort, and were making a settlement without their approbation in their very neighborhood—indeed they had now proceeded to attack and ravage the country;—the Pequots in consequence breathed nothing but war and revenge; they were determined to extirpate or drive all the English from New-England. For this purpose they conceived the plan of uniting the Indians generally against them; they spared no art nor pains to make peace with the Narragansets, and to engage them in the war against the English, to whom they represented that the English, who were merely foreigners, were overspreading the country, and depriving the original inhabitants of their ancient rights and possessions; that unless effectual measures were immediately taken to prevent it, they would soon entirely dispossess the original proprietors and become the lords of the continent; they insisted that by a general combination they could either destroy or drive them from the country, that there would be no necessity of coming to open battles, that by killing their cattle, firing their houses, laying ambushes on the roads, in the fields, and wherever they could surprise and destroy them, they might accomplish their wishes;—they represented that if the English should effect the destruction of the Pequots, they would also soon destroy the Narragansets. So just and politic were these representations, that nothing but that thirst for revenge, which inflames the savage heart, could have re-



sisted their influence, indeed it is said that for some time the Narragansets hesitated.

The governor of the colonies, to prevent an union between these savage nations, and to strengthen the peace between the Narraganset Indians and the colonies, dispatched a messenger to invite MIANTINOMI, their chief sachem, to Boston.—The invitation was accepted by MIANTINOMI, and while at Boston, with the Governor and Council entered into a treaty, the substance of which was as follows, (viz.)—That there should be a firm peace maintained between the English and Narragansets, and their posterity :—That neither party should make peace with the Pequots without its being first mutually assented to :—That the Narragansets should not harbour the enemies of the English, but deliver up to them such fugitives as should resort to them for safety ;—The English were to give them notice when they went out against the Pequots, and the Narragansets were to furnish guides.

In February 1637, the English in Connecticut colony, represented to the Governor and Council their desire to prosecute more effectually the war with the Pequots, who yet continued to exercise toward them the most wanton acts of barbarity.—They represented that on the 10th January, a boat containing three of their countrymen was attacked by the enemy as it was proceeding down the river ; that the English for some time bravely defended themselves, but were at length overpowered by numbers ; that the Indians, when they had succeeded in capturing the boat's crew, ripped them up from the bottom of their bellies to their throats, and in like manner split them down their backs, and thus mangled hung them upon trees by the river side !—they represented that the affairs of Connecticut colony at this moment wore a most gloomy aspect—that they had sustained great losses in cattle

and goods the preceding years but were still more unfortunate the present ; that a most dreadful and insidious enemy were now seeking opportunity to destroy them—that they could neither hunt, fish or cultivate their fields, nor travel at home or abroad but at the peril of their lives—that they were obliged to keep a constant watch by night and day, to go armed to their daily labours and to the houses of public worship !—and although desirous to prosecute the war more effectually with the common enemy, they were not in a situation to do it, and therefore humbly prayed for assistance.

The report of the horrid and unprovoked cruelties of the Pequots, practised upon the defenceless inhabitants of Connecticut colony, roused the other colonies to harmonious and spirited exertions against them—Massachusetts determined to send 200 and Plymouth 40 men to assist their unfortunate brethren in prosecuting the war.—Capt. PATRICK with 40 men was sent forward before the other troops, in order that he might be enabled seasonably to form junction with the troops in Connecticut, who, notwithstanding their weak and distressed state had engaged to furnish 90 men.

On Wednesday the 10th May, the Connecticut troops proceeded for their fort at Saybrook ; they consisted of 90 Englishmen and 70 Mohegan and river Indians—the latter commanded by UNCUS, sachem of the Mohegans, and the former by Capt. JOHN MASON, who was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. STRONG, of Hartford, as chaplain. The Mohegans being detached from the English, on their way to Saybrook, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, whom they attacked and defeated, they killed 22 and took 18 of them prisoners.

Among the prisoners there was one who was recognized as a perfidious villian ; he had lived in the fort with the English some time before and well understood their

language; he remained attached to their interest until the commencement of hostilities with the Pequots, when he deserted the garrison and joined the enemy, whom he served as guide, and through whose instigation many of the English had been captured and put to death.—UNCUS and his men insisted upon executing him according to the custom of their ancestors, and the English, in the circumstances in which they then were, did not judge it prudent to interfere—the Indians enkindled a fire, near which they confined the prisoner to a stake, in which situation he remained until his skin became parched with the heat; the Mohegans then violently tore him limb from limb, barbarously cutting his flesh in pieces, they handed it round from one to another, eating it, while they sung and danced round the fire in a manner peculiar to savages! the bones and such parts of the unfortunate captive as were not consumed in this dreadful repast, were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes.

On the 19th, Capt. MASON and his men proceeded for Narraganset bay, at which place they safely arrived on the 21st.—Capt. MASON marched immediately to the plantation of CANONICUS (a Narraganset sachem) and acquainted him with his designs, and immediately after dispatched a messenger to MIANTINOMI, to inform him likewise of the expedition: The next day MIANTINOMI with his chief counsellors and warriors met the English—Capt. MASON informed him that the cause of his entering his country with an armed force was to avenge the injuries which the Pequots had done the English, and desired a free passage to their forts, which they intended to attack;—after a solemn consultation, in the Indian manner, MIANTINOMI observed that “he highly approved of the expedition, and would send men to assist the English, but that they were too few in number to fight



the enemy—that the Pequots were great warriors and rather slighted the English.”

Capt. MASON landed his men and marched to the plantation of MIANTINOMI, which, by previous agreement, was to be the place of general rendezvous—in the evening an Indian runner arrived with information that Capt. PATRICK, with the men under his command, had arrived at the plantation of ROGER WILLIAMS, in Providence, and was desirous that Capt. MASON should postpone his march until such time as he could join him; Capt. MASON after mature deliberation determined however not to wait his arrival, although a junction was considered important; his men had already been detained much longer than was agreeable to their wishes, and the Mohegans apparently were impatient for battle. The little army therefore (consisting of 90 Englishmen, 60 Mohegan and river Indians and about 200 Narragansets) commenced their march on the 24th, and in the evening of that day reached Nihantick, which bounded on the country of the Pequots—Nihantick, was the seat of a Narraganset Sachem, who seemed displeased with the expedition, and would not suffer the English to enter his fort—Capt. MASON, suspecting the treachery of this fellow, placed a sentinel at night at the entrance of the fort, determined that as he could not be permitted to enter, no one should come out to advise the enemy of his approach.

On the morning of the 25th, Capt. MASON was joined by an additional number of the Narragansets and a few of the Nihanticks—they formed a circle, and brandishing their scalping knives, made protestations how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill! &c. —Capt. MASON had now under his command near 500 Indians, in addition to his former force, with whom he early reassumed his march for the head quarters of the enemy—the day proved uncommonly warm, and the men

through extensive heat and want of provision, were only enabled by night to reach Paucatuck river ; where the Narragansets began to manifest great fear and to enquire of Capt. MASON his real designs—he assured them that “ it was to attack the Pequots in their fort !” at which they appeared greatly surprized, and exhibited a disposition to quit the English and return home.

WEQUASH, a Pequot Sachem, who had revolted from SASACUS, was the principal guide of the English, and he proved faithful ; he gave such information respecting the distance of the forts of the enemy from each other, and the distance they were then from that of the chief Sachem’s, as induced Capt. MASON to determine to attack the latter, which his guide represented as situated at the head of Mystic river—he found his men so much fatigued in marching through a pathless wilderness, with their provision, arms and ammunition, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. The little army accordingly on the morning of the 26th, proceeded directly for Mystic, and at about sundown penetrated a thick swamp, where (imagining that they could not be far distant from the fort) they pitched their little camp, between two large rocks, now known by the name of “ Porter’s rocks,” situated in Groton—the sentinels, who were considerably advanced in front of the main body of the English, distinctly heard the enemy singing and dancing through the night at their fort.

The important day was now approaching when the very existence of *CONNECTICUT*, was to be determined by the sword in a single action ! and to be decided by the valour of less than 100 brave men !—About two hours before day the men were aroused from their slumbers by their officers, and after commending themselves and their cause to the ALMIGHTY, proceeded with all possible dispatch for the enemy’s fort ;—when within a few

rods of the fort, Capt. MASON sent for *UNCUS* and *WASQUASH*, and desired them in their Indian manner to harangue and prepare their men for combat ; they replied that " their men were much afraid, and could not be prevailed upon to advance any farther !"—"Go then (said Capt. MASON) and request them not to retire, but to surround the fort at any distance they please, and see what courage Englishmen can display !"—The day was now dawning, and no time to be lost, the fort was soon in view—the soldiers pressed forward, animated with the reflection that it was not for themselves alone they were about to fight, but for their parents, wives, children and countrymen !—as they approached the fort within a short distance, they were discovered by a Pequot sentinel, who roared out "*Owanux !*" "*Owanux !*" (Englishmen ! Englishmen !)—the troops pressed on and as the Indians were rallying poured in upon them the contents of their muskets, and instantly hastening to the principal entrance of the fort, rushed in sword in hand !—an important moment this ! for notwithstanding the blaze and thunder of the arms of the English, the Pequots made a manly and desperate resistance ; sheltered by their wigwarks, and rallied by their sachems and squaws, they defended themselves and in some instances attacked the English with a resolution that would have done honor to Romans !—after a bloody and desperate conflict of near two hours continuance, in which hundreds of the Indians were slain, and many of the English killed and wounded, victory still hung in suspense !—in this critical state of the action, Capt. MASON had recourse to a successful expedient—rushing into a wigwark within the fort, he seized a brand of fire, and in the mean time crying out to his men "*we must burn them !*" communicated it to the mats with which the wigwarks were covered, by which means the whole fort was very soon enwrapt in flames !



—as the fire increased the English retired and formed a circle around the fort; the Mohegans and Narragansets who had remained idle spectators to the bloody conflict, now mustered courage sufficient to form another circle in the rear of them;—the enemy were now in a deplorable situation—death inevitably was their portion!—sallying forth from their burning cells, they were shot or cut in pieces by the English—many of them (perceiving it impossible to escape the vigilance of the troops) threw themselves voluntarily into the flames!

The violence of the flames—the reflection of the light—the clashing and roar of arms—the shrieks and yells of the savages in the fort, and the shoutings of the friendly Indians without, exhibited a grand and awful scene! in less than two hours from the commencement of the bloody action; the English completed their work—eighty wigwags were burnt and upwards of eight hundred Indians destroyed!—parents and children, the sannup and squaw, the aged and the young, perished in promiscuous ruin!—the loss of the English was comparatively trifling, not exceeding 25 in killed and wounded:

After the termination of this severe engagement, as the English were proceeding to embark on board their vessels (which fortunately for them at this moment arrived in the harbor) they were attacked in the rear by about 300 of the enemy, who had been dispatched from a neighboring fort to assist their brethren—the English gave them so warm a reception that they soon gave way and fell back to the field of action, where viewing for a few moments, with apparent marks of horror and surprise, the shocking scene which it presented, they stamped, bellowed, and with savage rage tore their hair from their heads! and then, with a hideous yell, pursued the English as if with a determination to avenge the deaths of their friends even at the expence of their lives;—they

pursued the English nearly six miles, sometimes shooting at a distance, from behind rocks and trees, and sometimes pressing hard upon them and hazarding themselves in open field—the English killed numbers of them but sustained no loss on their part; when a Pequot fell, the Mohegana would cry out “run and fetch his head!”—the enemy finding at length that they discharged their arrows in vain, and that the English appeared to be well supplied with ammunition, gave over the pursuit.

In less than three weeks from the time the English embarked at Saybrook, they returned (with the exception of the few killed and wounded) in safety to their respective habitations.—Few enterprizes were ever perhaps achieved with more personal bravery; in few have so great a proportion of the effective men of a whole colony, state or nation, been put to so great and immediate danger—in few have a people been so deeply and immediately interested, as were the English inhabitants of Connecticut at this important crisis—in these respects even the great armaments and battles of Europe are comparatively of little importance—and it ought never to be forgotten, that through the bravery and unconquerable resolution of less than one hundred men, Connecticut was once saved, and the most warlike and terrible tribe of Indians in New-England completely exterminated.

The few Pequots that now remained alive conceiving it unsafe to inhabit longer a country so exposed to invasion, removed far to the westward; among whom was SASSACUS, their principal sachem.—On the 25th June, the Connecticut troops under command of Capt. MASON, together with a company from Massachusetts, commanded by Capt. STOURGTON, were sent in pursuit of them; they proceeded westward, and on the 27th fell in with, attacked and defeated a considerable body of them: they took about 50 of them prisoners, among whom were



two Sachems, whose lives were offered them on condition of their serving as guides to the English.

The English on their march frequently fell in with small detached parties of the enemy, whom they captured or destroyed, but could not obtain any information relative to the main body commanded by *SASSACUS*—finding that the two sachem prisoners would not give them the information required, they on the 29th beheaded them at a place called Mepunkatuck (now Guilford) from which circumstance the place still bears the name of “Sachems’ head.” The English on the 30th, arrived at Quinnipiak (now New-Haven) where they were informed by a friendly Pequot that the enemy were encamped in a swamp, a few miles to the westward—the troops pushed forward and on the succeeding day arrived at the border of said swamp, which they found a thicket so extremely boggy as to render it inaccessible to any one but the natives—the English, therefore, thought it most advisable to surround the swamp and annoy the enemy as opportunity presented;—the Indians, after a few skirmishes, requested a parley, which being granted them, *THOMAS STANTON* (interpreter to the English) was sent to treat with them—he was authorized to offer life to such as had not shed the blood of Englishmen; upon which the Sachem of the place, together with about 300 of his tribe came out, and producing satisfactory proof of their innocence, were permitted to retire;—but the Pequots boldly declared that “they had both shed and *drank* the blood of Englishmen, and would not upon such terms accept of life, but would fight it out!”—The English, unwilling to brook the threats and insulting language of the Pequots, attempted now to devise means to attack the whole body of them without further delay, the officers were however divided in opinion as to the mode of attack—some were for setting fire to the swamp, others for cutting their

way through with hatchets, and others for surrounding it with a high fence or pallisado; neither of which plans were however fully adopted—as night approached the English cut through a part of the swamp, by which means its circumference was much lessened, and they enabled so completely to surround the enemy as to prevent their escape during the night;—early the ensuing morning the Indians perceiving themselves completely hemmed in by the English, made a violent attempt to break through their lines; they were however driven back with great loss—they next attempted to force the line formed by the Connecticut troops, but here they met with a much warmer reception—the contest now became close and severe, the Indians, who were about 600 in number, appeared determined not to yield but at the expence of their lives; one of the most resolute of them walked boldly up to Capt. MASON, with an uplifted tomahawk, and when about to give the fatal stroke, received a blow from the latter, who with his cutlass severed the head of the savage from his body! the enemy soon after made another attempt to break through the lines of the English, and in which, after a violent struggle, they finally succeeded; about 60 of their bravest warriors escaped, the remainder being either killed or taken prisoners;—the loss of the English was 11 killed and about 20 wounded.

The prisoners taken were divided among the troops, some of whom were retained by them as servants and the remainder sent to the West-Indies and sold to the planters—the prisoners reported that the whole tribe of Pequots was now nearly exterminated; that in different engagements there had been upwards of 2000 of them killed and about 1000 captured, among whom were 13 Sachems, and that six yet survived, one of whom was *SASSACUS*, who had fled with the fragment of his tribe to

the country bordering on Hudson river, inhabited by the Mohawks.

After the swamp fight the Pequots became so weak and scattered that the Mohegans and Narragansets daily destroyed them, and presented their scalps to the English; the few that fled with SASSACUS to the westward, were attacked and totally destroyed by the Mohawks—the scalp of SASSACUS was in the fall of 1638, presented to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts.

Soon after the extermination of the Pequots, the Narragansets (the most numerous tribe in New-England) being displeased with the small power with which they were vested, and the respect which the English uniformly manifested for UNCUS, appeared disposed to break their treaty of friendship. MIANTINOMI, without consulting the English according to agreement, without proclaiming war, or giving UNCUS the least information, raised an army of 1000 men and marched against him.—The spies of UNCUS discovered the army at some distance and gave him intelligence—he was unprepared, but rallying about 500 of his bravest men he told them they must by no means suffer MIANTINOMI to enter their town, but must go and give him battle on his way. The Mohegans having marched three or four miles met the enemy upon an extensive plain—when the armies had advanced within fair bow shot of each other, UNCUS had recourse to stratagem, with which he had previously acquainted his warriors—he desired a parley, which being granted, both armies halted in the face of each other; UNCUS gallantly advancing in front of his men addressed MIANTINOMI to this effect—“ You have a number of stout men with you, and so have I with me; it is a great pity that so many brave warriors should be killed in consequence of a private misunderstanding between us two!—come like a brave man, as you profess to be, and let us decide the



dispute alone, if you kill me, my men shall be yours; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine!—"No!" (replied MIANTINOMI) my men come to fight, and they shall fight!"—upon which UNCUS falling instantly to the ground his men discharged a shower of arrows among the Narragansets, and without a moment's interval, rushing upon them in the most furious manner, with a hideous yell, put them to flight.—The Mohegans pursued the enemy with the same fury and eagerness with which they commenced the action—the Narragansets were driven down rocks and precipices, and chased like a doe by the huntsman—many of them to escape from their pursuers plunged into a river from rocks of near sixty feet in height—among others MIANTINOMI was hard pushed, some of the most forward of the Mohegans coming up with him, twirled him about and impeded his flight that UNCUS, their Sachem, might alone have the honor of taking him;—UNCUS (who was a man of great bodily strength) rushing forward like a lion greedy of his prey, seized MIANTINOMI by the shoulder, and giving the Indian whoop, called up his men who were behind to his assistance.—The victory was complete—about 50 of the Narragansets were killed and a much greater number wounded and taken prisoners; among the latter was a brother of MIANTINOMI and two of the sons of CANONICUS, whom UNCUS conducted in triumph to Mohegan. Some few days after, UNCUS conducted MIANTINOMI back to the spot where he was taken, for the purpose of putting him to death; at the instant they arrived on the ground, an Indian (who was ordered to march in the rear for the purpose) sunk a hatchet into his head, and dispatched him at a single stroke!—he was probably unacquainted with his fate and knew not by what means he fell—UNCUS cut out a large piece of his shoulder which he devoured in savage triumph! declaring in the mean

time that "it was the sweetest meat he ever ate; it made his heart strong!" The Mohegans buried MIANTINOMI at the place of his execution, and erected upon his grave a pillar of stones—this memorable event gave the place the name of "Sachem's Plains"—they are situated in an eastern corner of Norwich:

The Narragansets became now greatly enraged at the death of their sachem, and sought means to destroy UNCUS, whose country they in small parties frequently invaded, and by laying ambushed cut off a number of his most valuable warriors. As UNCUS was the avowed friend of the English, and had in many instances signalized himself as such, they conceived it their duty to afford him all the protection possible—they dispatched messengers to acquaint the Narragansetts with their determination, should they continue to molest and disturb the repose of the Mohegans.—The messengers of the English met with quite an unfavorable reception, to whom one of the Narraganset sachems declared that "he would kill every Englishman and Mohegan that came within his reach: that whoever began the war he would continue it, and that nothing should satisfy him but the head of UNCUS!"

The English, irritated at the provoking language of the Narragansetts, now determined not only to protect UNCUS, but to invade their country with an army of 300 men; first to propose a peace on their own terms, but if rejected, to attack and destroy them—for this purpose Massachusetts was to furnish 190 and Plymouth and Connecticut colonies 55 men each.

The Narragansets learning that an army was about to enter the heart of their country, and fearful of the issue, dispatched several of their principal men to sue for peace, on such terms as the English should be pleased to grant.—The Governor and Council demanded that

they should restore to *UNCUS* all the captives and canoes which they had taken from him, and pledge themselves to maintain perpetual peace with the English and their allies, and to the former pay an annual tribute of 2000 fathom of white wampum!—these indeed were hard terms, against which the Narragansets, strongly remonstrated, but aware that the English had already a considerable force collected for that express purpose of invading their country, they at length thought it most prudent to acquiesce.

During the war between the Narragansets and *UNCUS*, the former once besieged the fort of the latter until his provisions were nearly exhausted, and he found that his men must soon perish either by famine or the tomahawk unless speedily relieved—in this crisis he found means of communicating an account of his situation to the English scouts, who had been dispatched from the fort in Saybrook to reconnoitre the enemy—*UNCUS* represented the dangers to which the English would be exposed if the Narragansets should succeed in destroying the Mohegans. It was at this critical juncture, that the greatest part of the English troops in Connecticut were employed on an expedition abroad; a Mr. THOMAS LEFFINGWELL, however, a bold and enterprising man, on learning the situation of *UNCUS*, loaded a canoe with provision, and under cover of the night paddled from Saybrook into the river Thames, and had the address to get the whole into the fort—the enemy soon after discovering that *UNCUS* had received supplies, raised the siege;—for this piece of service *UNCUS* presented said LEFFINGWELL with a deed of a very large tract of land, now comprising the whole town of Norwich.

The English in New-England now enjoyed a peace until the year 1671, when they again took up arms to revenge the death of one of their countrymen, who had



been inhumanly murdered by an Indian belonging to the Nipnet tribe, of which the celebrated PHILIP, of Mount-Hope (now Bristol, R. I.) was Sachem.—It was throught the most prudent step by the Governor and Council, first to send for PHILIP, and acquaint him with the cause of their resentment, and the course which they were determined to pursue in case he refused to deliver into their hands the murderer—PHILIP being accordingly sent for, and appearing before the court, appeared much dissatisfied with the conduct of the accused, assuring them that no pains should be spared to bring him to justice; and more fully to confirm his friendship for the English, expressed a wish that the declaration which he was about publicly to make, might be committed to paper, that he and his Council, might thereunto affix their signatures. The Governor and Council, in compliance with the request of PHILIP, drew up the following, which after being signed by PHILIP and his chief men, was presented to the Governor by PHILIP in confirmation of his friendly assurances:—

“Whereas my father, my brother, and myself, have uniformly submitted to the good and wholesome laws of his majesty, the king of England, and have ever respected his faithful subjects, the English, as our friends and brothers, and being still anxious to brighten the chain of friendship between us, we do now embrace this opportunity to pledge ourselves, that we will spare no pains in seeking out and bringing to justice, such of our tribe as shall hereafter commit any outrage against them; and to remove all suspicion, we voluntarily agree to deliver up to them, all the fire arms, which they have heretofore kindly presented us with, until such time as they can safely repose confidence in us—and for the true perform-

ance of these our sacred promises, we have hereunto set  
our hands.

Chief Sachem.

PHILIP'S X mark.

Chief Men.

PORKANOKET'S X mark.

UNCOMBO'S X mark.

SANKANA'S X mark.

WOCOKON'S X mark.

In presence of the }  
Governor and Council. }

Notwithstanding the fair promises of PHILIP, it was soon discovered by the English, that he was playing a deep game, that he was artfully enticing his red brethren throughout the whole of New-England, to rise, en masse, against them, and drive them out of the country; the Narragansets, for this purpose, had engaged to raise 4000 fighting men—the spring of 1672, was the time agreed upon on which the grand blow was to be given.—The evil intentions of PHILIP, was first discovered and communicated to the English, by a friendly Indian, of the Narraganset tribe; fortunately for them, this Indian had been taken into favour by the Rev. Mr. ELLIOT, by whom he had been taught to read and write, and became much attached to the English.—The Governor upon receiving the important information relative to the hostile views of PHILIP, ordered a military watch to be kept up in all the English settlements within the three colonies; by some of whom it was soon discovered that the report of their Indian friend was too well founded, as the Indians of different tribes were daily seen flocking in great numbers to the head quarters of PHILIP; previously sending their wives and children to the Narraganset country, which they had ever done previous to the commencement of hostilities.

The inhabitants of Swanzey (a small settlement ad-

joining Mount Hope, the head-quarters of *PHILIP*) were the first who felt the effects of this war.—*PHILIP*, encouraged by the numbers who were daily enlisting under his banners, and despairing of discovering cause that could justify him in the commencement of hostilities against his “friends and brothers,” as he had termed them, resolved to provoke them to war by killing their cattle, firing their barns, &c.—this plan had its desired effect, as the inhabitants, determined to save their property or perish in the attempt, fired upon the Indians, which was deemed cause sufficient by the latter to commence their bloody work—the *war-whoop* was immediately thereupon sounded, when the Indians commenced an indiscriminate murder of the defenceless inhabitants of Swanze, sparing not the tender infant at the breast ;—but three, of seventy-eight persons which the town contained, made their escape;—Messengers were dispatched with the melancholy tidings of this bloody affair, to the Governor, who by and with the advice and consent of the Council, dispatched a company of militia with all possible speed to the relief of the distressed inhabitants residing near the head-quarters of *PHILIP* ;—as soon as they could be raised, three companies more were despatched under the command of Captains HENCHMAN, PRENTICE, and CHURCH, who arrived in the neighborhood of Swanze, on the 28th June, where they were joined by four more companies from Plymouth colony—it was found that the Indians had pillaged and set fire to the village, and with their booty had retired to Mount Hope—a company of cavalry were sent under the command of Capt. PRENTICE, to reconnoiter them ; but before they arrived at a convenient place for this purpose, they were ambushed and fired upon by the enemy, who killed six of their number and wounded ten—the report of their guns alarming the remaining companies of the English, they has-

tened to the relief of the cavalry, who at this moment were completely surrounded by about 600 Indians, between whom and the English a warm contest now ensued; the savages fought desperately, and more than once nearly succeeded in overpowering the English, but very fortunately for the latter, when nearly despairing of victory, a fresh company of militia from Boston arrived; which flanking the enemy on the right and left, and exposing them to two fires, soon overpowered them, and caused them to seek shelter in an adjoining wood, inaccessible to the English.—The English had in this severe engagement 42 killed, and 73 wounded, many of them mortally—the enemy's loss was supposed to be much greater.

On the 30th, Major SAVAGE (who by his excellency the Governor had been appointed Commander in Chief of the combined English forces) arrived with an additional company of cavalry, who with the remaining companies the following day commenced their march for Mount-Hope, the head-quarters of *PHILIP*—on their way, the English were affected with a scene truly distressing; the Savages, not content with bathing their tomahawks in the blood of the defenceless inhabitants of Swanzey, had, it was discovered, in many instances detached their limbs from their mangled bodies, and affixed them to poles which were extended in the air! among which were discovered the heads of several infant children, the whole of which, by order of Maj. SAVAGE, were collected and buried.

The English arrived at Mount-Hope about sun-set, but the enemy having received information of their approach, had deserted their wigwams and retired into a neighboring wood.—Major SAVAGE, to pursue the enemy with success, now divided his men into separate companies which he ordered to march in different directions, station-



ing 40 at Mount-Hope.—On the 4th July the men under the command of Captains CAUACH and HENCHMAN, fell in with a body of the enemy, to the number of 200, whom they attacked; the English being but 32 in number, including officers, victory for a considerable length of time appeared much in favor of the savages, but very fortunately for the former being commanded by bold and resolute officers, they defended themselves in the most heroic manner until relieved by a company of cavalry, under the command of Capt. PRENTICE.—The Indians now in turn finding the fire of the English too warm for them, fled in every direction, leaving 30 of their number dead and about 60 severely wounded on the field of action—the English in this engagement had 7 killed and 22 wounded, five of whom survived the action but a few hours.

This action, so far from daunting the bold and resolute Capt. CAUACH, seemed to inspire him with additional bravery; unwilling that any of the enemy should escape, he boldly led his men into an almost impenetrable forest into which those who survived the action had fled—the Indians perceiving the English approaching, concealed themselves from their view by lying flat on their bellies, in which situation they remained concealed until the English had advanced within a few rods of them, when each unperceived fixing upon his man, discharged a shower of arrows among them—this unexpected check threw the English into confusion, which the Indians perceiving, rushed furiously upon them with their knives and tomahawks, shouting horribly!—the English (their cavalry being unable to afford them assistance) were now in a very disagreeable situation, the trees being so very large as to render it difficult to use their fire arms with any effect, and they were very soon so encompassed by the savages, as to render almost eve-



ry effort to defend themselves useless; of 64 who entered the swamp, but 27 escaped, among whom very fortunately was their valuable leader Capt. CHURCH.

The English finding that they could neither bring their enemies to action in open field, or engage them with any success in the forest in which they were lodged, returned home, with the exception of three companies, who were stationed by Major SAVAGE near the borders of a swamp, into which it was strongly suspected that PHILIP, with a number of his tribe, had fled—this swamp was two miles in length, and to the English inaccessible.—PHILIP, who had been watching the motion of his enemies, perceiving the greater part of them marching off conjectured that their object was to obtain a reinforcement; impressed with this belief, he resolved to improve the first opportunity to escape with a few chosen men by water, which he with little difficulty effected the proceeding night, taking the advantage of a low tide. The enemy were soon after their escape discovered and pursued by the inhabitants of Rehoboth, accompanied by a party of the Mohegans, who had volunteered their services against PHILIP.

The Rehoboth militia came up with the rear of the enemy about sunset, and killed 12 of them, without sustaining any loss on their part; night preventing their engaging the whole force of PHILIP, but early the succeeding morning they continued the pursuit, the Indians had however fled with such precipitancy that it was found impossible to overtake them—they bent their course to the westward, exhorting the different tribes through which they passed to take up arms against the English.

The United Colonies became now greatly alarmed at the hostile views and rapid strides of PHILIP—the General court was constantly in sitting and endeavoring to plan means to cut him off before he should have an op-

portunity to corrupt the minds of two many of his countrymen.

While the Court was thus employed, information was received that PHILIP had arrived in the neighborhood of Brookfield (situated about 65 miles from Boston) and that a number of its inhabitants had been inhumanly butchered by his adherents:—Orders were immediately thereupon issued for the raising ten companies of foot and horse, to be despatched to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield; but before they could reach that place PHILIP and his party had entered the town and indiscriminately put to death almost every inhabitant which it contained; the few that escaped having taken the precaution, previous to the attack, to assemble together in one house, which they strongly fortified; this house was furiously attacked by the savages and several times set on fire, and the besieged were on the point of surrendering when Major WILLARD happily arrived to their relief:—Between the English and the Indians a desperate engagement now ensued, the former, by the express command of their officers, gave no quarter, but in a very heroic manner rushed upon the savages with clubbed muskets; the action continued until near sunset, when the few Indians that remained alive sought shelter in the neighboring woods. In this engagement the English had 22 killed and 75 wounded—the enemy's loss was 217 killed, and between 200 and 300 wounded, who, by way of retaliation (for their barbarity exercised toward the defenceless inhabitants of Brookfield,) were immediately put to death.

The Governor and Council, on learning the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants of Brookfield, despatched a reinforcement of three companies of cavalry to Major WILLARD, and ordered the like number to be sent him from Hartford, in Connecticut colony, with which he was di-

rected to pursue PHILIP with fire and sword, to whatever part of the country he should resort.

It being discovered that a part of PHILIP's forces had fled to Hatfield, two companies of English, under command of Capt. LATHROP, and Capt. BEERS, were sent in pursuit of them, who within about three miles of Hatfield, overtook and attacked them, but the force of the English being greatly inferior to that of the enemy, the former were defeated and driven back to the main body; which enabled the enemy (who had in the late engagement been detached from their main body) to join PHILIP.—On the 13th September, information was received by Major WILLARD that the enemy had successfully attacked and defeated the troops under the command of Capt. LATHROP; that they were ambushed and unexpectedly surrounded by 1000 of the enemy, to whom they all (except three, who escaped) fell a sacrifice!—The defeat of Capt. LATHROP took place in the neighborhood of Deerfield, for the defence of which, there was an English garrison, which the Indians were about to attack when Major WILLARD happily arrived, on the approach of whom, the Indians fled.

On the 10th October following, a party of PHILIP's Indians successfully assaulted the town of Springfield, which they pillaged and set fire to, killing about 40 of the inhabitants.—On the 14th they assulted the town of Hatfield, in which two companies under the command of Capt. MOSELY, and Capt. APPLETON, were stationed; the enemy continued the attack about two hours, when finding the fire of the English too warm for them, they fled, leaving a number of their party behind them dead.

PHILIP now finding himself closely pursued by a large and formidable body of the English, deemed it prudent to bend his course toward his old place of residence, there to remain until the ensuing spring.



But the Commissioners of the United Colonies, duly reflecting on the deplorable situation of their defenceless brethren throughout the country, aware that there were then a much greater number of their savage enemies embodied, than at any former period, who, if suffered peaceably to retire into winter quarters, might prove too powerful for them the spring ensuing, resolved to attack the whole force under *PHILIP* in their winter encampment—for the purpose of which, every Englishman capable of bearing arms, was commanded (by Proclamation of the Governor) to hold himself in readiness to march at the shortest notice.—The 10th of December, was the day appointed by the Commissioners on which the decisive blow was to be given—six companies were immediately raised in Massachusetts, consisting in the whole of 527 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains *MOSELY*, *GARDENER*, *DAVENPORT*, *OLIVER*, and *JOHNSON*—five companies were raised in Connecticut, consisting of 450 men, to the command of which were appointed Captains *SIELY*, *MASON*, *GALLOP*, *WATTS*, and *MARSHALL*—two companies were likewise raised in Plymouth, consisting of 150 men, who were commanded by Captains *RICE* and *GORAM*;—three Majors of the three respective divisions, were also appointed, to wit: Major *APPLETON*, of Massachusetts—Major *TREAT*, of Connecticut—and Major *BRADFORD*, of Plymouth—the whole force, consisting of 1127 men, were commanded by Major-General *WINSLOW*, late Governor of the colonies.—On the 7th December, the combined forces commenced their march for the head-quarters of the enemy—at this inclement season, it was with the utmost difficulty that the troops were enabled to penetrate through a wild and pathless wood—on the morning of the 9th (having travelled all the preceding night) they arrived at the border of an extensive swamp, in which they were



informed by their guides the enemy were encamped to the number of 4000.—The English (after partaking of a little refreshment) formed for battle.—Capt. MOSKLY, and Capt. DAVENPORT, led the van, and Major APPLETON, and Capt. OLIVER, brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces—General WINSLOW, with the Plymouth troops formed the centre—the Connecticut troops under the command of their respective captains, together with about 200 of the Mohegans, commanded by ONECO, (the son of UNCUS) brought up the rear.

It was discovered by an Indian sent for that purpose, that in the centre of the swamp the enemy had built a very strong fort, of so wise construction, that it was with difficulty that more than one person could enter at one time.—About 10 o'clock, A. M. the English with the sound of the trumpet entered the swamp, and when within about fifty rods of their fort, were met and attacked by the enemy—the Indians in their usual manner, shouting and howling like beasts of prey, commenced the attack with savage fury; but with a hedious noise, the English were not to be intimidated; charging them with unequalled bravery, the enemy were soon glad to seek shelter within the walls of their fort;—the English having closely pressed upon the enemy, as they retreated, now in turn found themselves in a very disagreeable situation, exposed to the fire of the Indians (who were covered by a high breastwork) they were not even enabled to act on the defensive.—At this critical juncture the lion-hearted ONECO, with the assent of Gen. WINSLOW, offered (with the men under his command) to scale the walls of the fort, which being approved of by the English commanders, ONECO, with about sixty picked men, in an instant ascended to the top of the fort; where having a fair chance at the enemy, they hurled their tomahawks and discharged their arrows with such suc-

cess among them, as in a very short time to throw them into the utmost confusion ; those who attempted to escape from the fort, were instantly cut to pieces by the troops without—the enemy finding themselves thus hemmed in, and attacked on all sides, in the most abject terms begged for quarter, which was denied them by the English—a great proportion of the troops being now mounted on the walls of the fort, they had nothing to do but load and fire, the enemy being penned up and huddled together in such a manner, that there was scarcely a shot lost.—This bloody contest was of near six hours continuance, when the English perceiving the fort filled with nought but dead, or such as were mortally wounded of the enemy, closed the bloody conflict.

The scene of action at this instant was indeed such as could not fail to shock the stoutest hearted!—the huge logs of which the fort was constructed, were completely crimsoned with the blood of the enemy, while the surrounding woods resounded with the dying groans of the wounded.—The number of slain of the enemy in this severe engagement, could not be ascertained, it was however immense; of 4000 which the fort was supposed to contain at the commencement of the action, not 200 escaped! among whom unfortunately was the treacherous *PHILIP*.

After the close of this desperate action, the troops (having destroyed all 'in their power) left the enemy's ground, and carrying about 300 wounded men marched back to the distance of sixteen miles to head-quarters;—the night proved cold and stormy, the snow fell deep, and it was not until midnight or after that the troops were enabled to reach their place of destination—many of the wounded, who probably otherwise might have recovered, perished with the cold and inconvenience of a march so fatiguing.

Although the destruction of so great a number of the enemy was considered of the greatest importance to the English, yet it proved a conquest dearly bought—it was obtained at the expence of the lives of not only a great number of privates, but a great proportion of their most valuable officers; among whom were Captains DAVENPORT, GARDNER, JOHNSON, SIELY, and MARSHALL—on enumerating their number of slain and wounded, it was found as follows:—

*Of the companies commanded by*

Captains	MOSELY, - - - -	10 killed,	40 wounded.
	OLIVER, - - - -	20	48
	GARDNER, - - - -	11	22
	JOHNSON, - - - -	18	38
	DAVENPORT, - - -	15	19
	GALLOP, - - - -	28	43
	SIELY, - - - -	32	50
	WATT'S, - - - -	19	33
	MASON, - - - -	40	50
	MARSHALL, - - -	25	37
	GORAM, - - - -	20	41
Sachem	ONECO, - - - -	51	82

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Total, 299 Total, 513

The courage displayed during the action by every part of the army—the invincible heroism of the officers—the firmness and resolution of the soldiers, when they saw their captains falling before them—and the hardships endured before and after the engagement, are hardly credible, and rarely find a parallel in ancient or modern ages!—the cold (the day preceding the action) was extreme, and in the night of which, the snow fell so deep as to render it extremely difficult for the army to move the day succeeding;—four hundred of the soldiers were so completely frozen as to be unfit for duty!—the Connecticut troops were the most disabled, having endured a tedious march without halting from Stonington to the



place of public rendezvous—they sustained too a much greater loss in the action, in proportion to their numbers, than the troops of the other colonies—the bold and intrepid Capt. MASON (who received a fatal wound in the action, of which he died in about three months after) was the first after the Mohegans to mount the walls of the fort, nor did the troops under his command fail to follow the noble example.

The loss of the troops from Connecticut was so great that Major TREAT conceived it absolutely necessary to return immediately home—such of the wounded as were not able to travel were put on board a vessel and conveyed to Stonington—the troops on their return killed and captured about 30 of the enemy.

The Massachusetts and Plymouth forces kept the field the greater part of the winter—they ranged the country, took a number of prisoners, destroyed about 300 wigwams, but achieved nothing brilliant or decisive.

The Nipnet and Narraganset tribes being by the late action nearly exterminated, the few that survived (by the direction of PHILIP) fled in small parties to different parts of the country, improving every opportunity that presented to revenge the untimely fate of their brethren. On the 10th February, 1678, about 100 of them surprised the inhabitants of Lancaster (Mass.) a part of whom, as a place of greater safety, had the day previous resorted to the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. ROWLAND; this however being constructed of dry logs, was set fire to by the Indians, which the unfortunate English within being unable to extinguish, they fell victims to the devouring flames.—On the 21st the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Medfield, 32 of whom they killed and of the remainder made captives.

On the 3d March, the Indians still continuing their depredations, two companies of cavalry, under the com-



mand of Capt. PIERCE, and Capt. WATKINS, were ordered out for the purpose of affording protection to the defenceless inhabitants of towns most exposed to their incursions—on the 5th they marched to Pautuxet, near where there were a considerable body of Indians encamped, whom on the morning of the 5th, they fell in with and attacked—the enemy at first appeared but few in number, but these were only employed to decoy the English, who on a sudden found themselves surrounded by near 500 Indians, who, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, rushing furiously upon them, threatened them with instant destruction!—The English now acting upon the defensive, although surrounded by five times their number, fought with their usual spirit, and were resolved to sell their lives at as dear rate as possible, they were very soon however compelled to yield to the superior force of their savage enemies; but five escaped!—This victory, though of considerable importance to the savages, cost them a number of their bravest warriors, 93 of whom were the proceeding day found dead upon the field of action; there were in this engagement about 20 friendly Indians with the English, who fought like desperadoes, one of them observing Capt. PIERCE unable to stand, in consequence of the many wounds he had received, for nearly two hours bravely defended him; when perceiving his own imminent danger, and that he could afford the captain no further assistance, by blacking his face as the enemy had done, escaped unnoticed.

On the 25th March, a party of Indians attacked and burnt the towns of Weymouth and Warwick, killing a great number of the inhabitants.—On the 10th April following they pillaged and burnt Rehoboth and Providence.

On the 1st May a company of English and 150 Mo-

hegans, under command of Capt. GEORGE DENNISON, were sent in pursuit of a body of the enemy commanded by the son of MIANTINOMI; on the 8th they met with and attacked them near Groton—the Indians, apparently determined on victory or death, displayed an unusual degree of courage, but the English and Mohegans proved too strong for them, who after destroying the greater part with their muskets and tomahawks, drove the remainder into a neighboring river, where they soon perished.

On the 23d, CONONCHET, Sachem of the few scattered remains of the Narragansets, proposed to his Council that the lands bordering on Connecticut river, not inhabited by the English, should be by them planted with corn, for their future subsistence; which being approved of by the latter, 200 of the Narragansets were despatched for this purpose, the Governor being apprized of their intentions despatched three companies of cavalry to intercept them; about 100 of the Mohegans, under the command of ONECO, accompanied the English—the enemy were commanded by CONONCHET in person, who first proceeded to Seconk to procure seed corn; it was in the neighborhood of this place that they were first met with and engaged by the English and Mohegans—the enemy with becoming bravery for a long time withstood the attack, but being but poorly provided with weapons, they were at length overpowered and compelled to yield to the superior power of their enemies—in the midst of the action CONONCHET, fearful of the issue, deserted his men and attempted to seek shelter in a neighboring wood, but being recognized by the Mohegans, they pursued him—CONONCHET perceiving himself nearly overtaken by his pursuers, to facilitate his flight first threw away his blanket, and then his silver laced coat (with which he had been presented by the English a few weeks previous)

but finding that he could not escape from his pursuers by flight, he plunged into a river, where he was even followed by a half a dozen resolute Mohegans, who laying hold of him forced him under water and there held him until drowned.—The loss of the English and Mohegans in this engagement was 12 killed, and 21 wounded, that of the enemy was 43 killed and about 80 wounded.

The inhabitants of New-London, Norwich and Stonington, having frequently discovered a number of the enemy lurking about in small bodies in the adjacent woods, by joint agreement voluntarily enlisted themselves (to the number of 300) under the command of Major PALMER, and Captains DENISON and AVERY, who with the assistance of the Mohegans and a few friendly Narragansets, in three expeditions destroyed near 1000 of the enemy.

On the 8th June, the Indians assaulted and burnt Bridgewater, a small settlement in the colony of Massachusetts; forty of its inhabitants fell victims to savage barbarity.

The Governor and Council of Massachusetts colony, aware of the danger to which many of the inland settlements were exposed, by frequent incursions of the enemy, and finding it extremely difficult to raise a sufficient force to oppose them in the many parts to which the fragments of the broken tribes had resorted, adopted the policy of sending among them, as spies, such Indians as were friendly and could be depended on; which plan had its desired effect—these Indians representing the force of the English much greater than it really was, and warning the enemy of danger which did not at that time exist, deterred from acting in many instances on the offensive.—One of the friendly Indians returning to Boston on the 10th July, reported as follows:—that a large number of Indians were embodied in a wood near Lan-



easter, which village they intended to attack and burn in a few days, that they had been encouraged to continue the war with the English by *Frenchmen*, from the great lake, who had supplied them with fire-arms and ammunition!"

On the receipt of this important information, the Governor dispatched three companies of cavalry, under the command of Major SAVAGE, for the defence of Lancaster, who unfortunately by mistaking the road fell into an ambush of about 350 Indians, by whom they were instantly surrounded—the English exhibited great presence of mind, and repelled the attack of the enemy in a very heroic manner; the savages being however well provided with fire arms, soon gained a complete victory over the English, whose loss in this unfortunate engagement was fifty-four!—the number of killed and wounded of the enemy could not be ascertained as they remained masters of the field of action.

On the 15th a severe engagement took place between a company of English cavalry and about 300 of the enemy, near Groton—the latter were not perceived by the former, until they were within a few paces of them (the Indians having concealed themselves in the bushes) when suddenly issuing forth with a hideous yell, the cavalry were thrown into confusion, but instantly forming and charging the enemy with great spirit, they fled in every direction—the cavalry, in attempting to pursue them, were once more ambushed; the contest now became close and severe, the Indians having succeeded in decoying the English into a thick wood, attacked them with great fury and success.—The commander of the English being killed, every man sought his own safety—of forty-five of which the company was composed, but twelve escaped!—the loss of the enemy was however supposed to be much greater.



On the 12th August a party of Indians entered the town of Westfield, killed and took several of the inhabitants prisoners, and burnt several houses.—Three of them soon after made their appearance at a house near said town and fired at the man at his door, who fell; they ran towards him, and one of them stooping to scalp him, he was saluted by the man's wife, with a stroke from a large hatchet, which went so completely into his body, that at three different efforts she could not disengage it, and the Indian made off with it sticking in him; a second Indian also made an attempt, when she by a well directed stroke with a stick she had got, laid him on the ground; the third then run, and the other, as soon as he had recovered his feet, followed the example, on which the woman took her husband in her arms and carried him into the house, where he soon after recovered.

On the 17th, a party of Indians commenced an attack on Northampton, but there being a number of English soldiers therein stationed, the enemy were repulsed.

On the 20th, a number of the inhabitants of Springfield were attacked by a party of Indians as they were returning from divine service, and although the former were provided with fire-arms, the enemy succeeded in making prisoners of two women and several children, whom they soon after inhumanly tomahawked and scalped; in which situation they were the succeeding day found by a party of English sent out in pursuit of the enemy—one of the unfortunate women (although shockingly mangled) was found still alive, and when so far recovered as to be enabled to speak, gave the following account of the fate of her unfortunate companions, to wit:—That they were first conveyed by the savages to a thick wood, where they were severally bound with cords, that the Indians soon after built a fire and regaled themselves with what they had previously stolen from the English;

that soon after a warm dispute arose between them, relative to the prisoners, each claiming the women for their aquaws (or wives) that they at length proceeded to blows, and after beating each other for some time with clubs, it was agreed by both parties (to prevent further altercation) that the women should be put to death, which they, as they supposed, carried immediately into execution; the unfortunate narrator received a severe blow on the head, which brought her senseless to the ground, and while in this situation, was scalped and left for dead by her savage enemies!"

The inhabitants of Sudbury, with a company of soldiers under the command of Lieut. JACOBS, of Marlborough, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy (who, to the number of about 200 were encamped near that place) resolved to attack them at night; accordingly on the 6th September they marched within view of them, and at night (as they lay extended around a large fire) approached them unperceived within gun shot, when they gave them the contents of their muskets; many of those that remained unhurt, being suddenly aroused from their slumber by the yells of their wounded brethren, and imagining that they were completely surrounded by the English (whom the darkness of the night prevented their seeing) threw themselves into the fire which they had enkindled, and there perished; but few if any escaped—in this attack the English sustained no loss.

On the 25th, a considerable body of the enemy attacked the inhabitants of Marlborough, many of whom they killed, and set fire to their houses—a company of English who had been ordered from Concord for the defence of this place were cut off by the savages and totally destroyed—two other companies despatched from Boston, for the like purpose, met with the same fate—it appeared that the Governor, on learning the situation of the un-

fortunate inhabitants of Marlborough, despatched to their relief two companies under the command of Captains WADSWORTH and SMITH, who before they arrived at their place of destination, were informed that the savages had quit Marlborough, and proceeded for Sudbury (12 miles distant) which induced the English to alter their course and proceed immediately for the latter place—of this, it appeared that the enemy had been apprized by their runners, and had lain a plan to cut them off ere they should reach Sudbury, which they in the following manner completely effected—learning the course which the English would take, they within a few rods thereof stationed 50 or 60 of their number in an open field, who were ordered to retreat into a neighboring thicket as soon as discovered and pursued by the English; in this thicket the remainder of the Indians, to the number of about 300, concealed themselves by lying prostrate on their bellies—the English on their arrival, espying the Indians in the field, and presuming them to be but few in number, pursued and attacked them, who very soon retreated to the fatal spot where their treacherous brethren lay concealed and prepared to give their pursuers a warm if not a fatal reception; here they were closely pursued by the English, who too late discovered the fatal snare which had been laid for them; in an instant they were completely surrounded and attacked on all sides by the savages; the English for several hours bravely defended themselves, but at length were borne down by numbers far superior to their own—thus fell the brave Captain WADSWORTH, and Captain SMITH, as well as most of the troops under their command.

The Indians bordering on the river Merrimack, feeling themselves injured by the encroachments of the English once more reassumed the bloody tomahawk, which had been buried for a number of years.—On the 1st No-



vember they in a considerable body entered the villages of Chelmsford and Woburn, and indiscriminately put to death every inhabitant they contained, not sparing the infant at the breast. On the 9th they burnt the house of a Mr. EAMES, near Concord, killed his wife and threw her body into the flames, and made captives of his children.—On the 15th they took prisoner a young woman (sixteen years of age) who, by the family with whom she resided, had been placed on a hill in the neighborhood of their dwelling to watch the motions of the enemy—the account which the young woman gave of her capture and escape was as follows :—that “on the morning of her capture, the family having been informed that a party of Indians had the day previous been discovered in a neighboring wood, she (by their request) ascended a hill near the house to watch their motions, and alarm the family if seen approaching the house; that about noon she discovered a number of them ascending the hill in great haste, that she immediately thereupon attempted to evade them by retireing into a thicket, but that the Indians (who it appeared had before observed her) found her after a few moments search, and compelled her to accompany them to their settlement, about 40 miles distant—it was here they gave her to understand she must remain and become their squaw, and dress and cook their victuals—that she remained with them about three weeks, during which time they made several expeditions against the English, and returned with a great number of human scalps—that on the night of the 6th December, they returned with six horses, which they had stolen from the English, which having turned into a small enclosure they set out on a new expedition—that she viewed this as a favorable opportunity to escape, to effect which, she caught and mounted one of the horses, and making use of a strip of bark as a bridle, she



penetrated a wild and pathless wood, and arrived at Concord at seven o'clock the morning proceeding, having travelled all the preceding night to evade the pursuit of the enemy!"—In like manner did one of the children of Mr. EAMES (of whose capture mention is made in the preceding page) escape from the Indians, although but ten years of age, he travelled sixty miles through an uninhabited wood, subsisting on acorns!

On the 12th December a party of Indians attacked and killed several of the inhabitants of Bradford. The Governor of Massachusetts colony, for the protection of the defenceless inhabitants of the Merrimack, ordered the raising and equipping of four companies of cavalry, to the command of which were appointed captains SILL, HOLYOKE, CUTLER and PRENTICE.

On the 23d the above troops proceeded for the borders of the Merrimack, and on the 26th fell in with a considerable body of the enemy whom they engaged and completely defeated.—On the 4th January, 1679, Capt. PRENTICE, detached from the main body, fell in with and engaged about 100 of the enemy in the neighborhood of Amherst, whom he likewise defeated, but with considerable loss on his part.

On the 6th, a son of the brave Captain HOLYOKE, of Springfield, receiving information that a number of the enemy in small bodies were skulking about in the woods bordering on that town, with twenty resolute young men marched out to attack them—falling in with a considerable body of them, an engagement ensued, which though severe terminated at length in favor of the English—the Indians being furnished with muskets, were unwilling to give ground, and would probably have remained masters of the field had not the English received a reinforcement which put them to flight—the loss of the English in the engagement was 5 killed and 9 wounded, and

that of the enemy 23 killed, and between 30 and 40 wounded.

The savages were no longer confined to any particular tribe or place, but in parties from 50 to 300, were scattered all over the thinly inhabited parts of New-England—a considerable body of them were yet in the neighborhood of Hadley, Deerfield and Northampton, where they were continually committing their wanton acts of barbarity.—Several of the inhabitants of the towns above mentioned, duly reflecting on the danger to which they and their families were daily exposed, formed themselves into several companies and made choice of their commanders.—On the 4th February, receiving information that there were near 200 Indians embodied in a swamp in the neighborhood of Deerfield, the above-mentioned force marched to attack them; arriving within view of them about day-break, they discovered them in a profound sleep stretched out upon the ground around their fire—the cavalry immediately thereupon alighted, and after forming themselves, approached them within pistol shot before they were discovered by the enemy; who, being suddenly aroused from their slumber, and astonished at the unexpected appearance of so many of their enemies, fell an easy prey to the English, who, without the loss of a man, killed 120 of them; the remainder, as the only means of escape, having plunged into a river, where probably many of them perished.

Although the English achieved this action without any loss on their part, they were on their return unhappily ambushed by about 400 of the enemy—the English having expended all their ammunition in the late engagement, and being much fatigued, were now in turn likely to fall an easy prey to their enemies, who, with their bloody knives and tomahawks, for the space of an hour, attacked them with the greatest success—not one of the

English it is probable would have survived this bloody and unexpected attack, had it not been for the presence of mind of their brave commander (Capt. HOLYOKE,) who by a stratagem, succeeded in saving a part of them—Capt. HOLYOKE had his horse killed under him, and at one time was attacked by five of the enemy, whom he beat off with his cutlass;—the loss of the English in this unfortunate action was 51 killed and 84 wounded, many of the latter survived the action but a few days—the defeat and destruction of the English in this engagement was much to be lamented, as among the slain were the heads of several families, who had volunteered their services in defence of their infant settlements.

On the 10th several hundreds of the enemy, encouraged by their late success, appeared before Hatfield and fired several dwelling-houses without the fortification of the town—the inhabitants of Hadley being seasonably apprized of the situation of their brethren at Hatfield, a number of them volunteered their services and marched to their relief—the Indians, as they were accustomed to do on the approach of the English, lay flat on their bellies until the latter had advanced within bow shot, when partly rising, they discharged a shower of arrows among them, which wounded several of the English; but they having wisely reserved their fire, now in turn levelled their pieces with the best effect before the savages had time to recover their legs, about 30 of whom were instantly despatched and the remainder dispersed.

On the 15th February, the Governor of Massachusetts colony receiving information that the Indians were collecting in great numbers under the immediate guidance of PHILIP, near Brookfield, despatched Capt. HENCHMAN, with 50 men to dislodge them; who proceeding first to Hadley, was joined by a company of cavalry from Hartford—on the 20th they discovered and attack-



ed a party of Indians near Lancaster, they killed fifty of them, and took between fifty and sixty of their squaws and children prisoners—Capt. HENCHMAN on his way to Brookfield discovered the dead bodies of several of his countrymen half consumed by fire, who it appeared had a few days previous fallen victims to the wanton barbarity of the savages.

The scattered remains of the enemy being now so completely harrassed and driven from place to place by the English, a number of them resorted to the western country, then inhabited by the Mohawks; but the latter being on friendly terms with the English and Dutch, who were settling among them were unwilling to harbor their enemies, and consequently attacked a considerable body of them on the 5th March; the engagement was a severe one—the fugitive Indians being furnished with fire-arms, repelled the attack of the Mohawks with a becoming spirit, but were at length overpowered and completely defeated—the loss on both sides was very great.

On the 20th the Indians took a Mr. WILLET prisoner, near Swanzey, and after cutting off his nose and ears set him at liberty!—On the 23d they made prisoners of the family of a Mr. BARNES, of Rehoboth, consisting of himself, wife and six children—two of the youngest of the latter they killed and scalped, and threw their mangled bodies to their dogs to devour!

On the 28th, a negro man who had been for several months a prisoner among the savages, escaped from them and returned to the English, to whom he gave the following information, to wit:—that the enemy were concerting a plan to attack Taunton, and the villages adjacent—that for this purpose there were then embodied near Worcester, 1000 of them, at the head of whom was PHILIP, and that near one hundred of them were furnished with fire arms—that a few days previous to his



escape, a scouting party arrived and brought in with them two prisoners and three human scalps!—To frustrate the intentions of the enemy the Governor of Massachusetts colony dispatched three companies of cavalry for the defence of Taunton.

The English of Connecticut colony, although but little troubled with the enemy since the destruction of the Pequots, were not unwilling to afford their brethren all the assistance possible in a protracted and bloody war with the common enemy—they accordingly furnished three companies of cavalry, who under command of the experienced Major TALCOTT, on the 5th April proceeded to the westward in search of the enemy—on the 11th they fell in with and attacked and defeated a considerable body of them—apparently, by the special direction of divine providence, Maj. TALCOTT arrived in the neighborhood of Hadley in time to preserve the town, and save its inhabitants from total destruction!—the savages to the number of 500, were on the eve of commencing an attack when they were met by the Major, with the troops under his command; this unexpected relief animating the few inhabitants which the town contained, they hastened to the assistance of the cavalry, who at this moment were seriously engaged with the whole body of the enemy—the savages having gained some signal advantages, victory for a considerable length of time appeared likely to decide in their favor—fortunately, the inhabitants of Hadley having for their defence a few weeks previous procured from Boston an eight pounder, it was at this critical period loaded by the women, and being mounted was by them conveyed to the English, which (being charged with small shot, nails, &c.) was by the latter discharged with the best effect upon the enemy, who immediately thereupon fled in every direction—thus it was that the English in a great measure

owed the preservation of their lives to the unexampled heroism of a few women !

The Governor and Council of the United Colonies, taking under serious consideration the miraculous escape of the inhabitants of Hadley from total destruction, and the recent success of the arms of the English in various parts of the country, appointed the 27th day of August, 1679, to be observed throughout the Colonies as a day of *Public Thanksgiving and Praise to ALMIGHTY GOD* ;—this it may be well to observe, was the commencement of an annual custom of our forefathers, which to the present day is so religiously observed by their descendants throughout the New-England states.

On the 3d September, the Connecticut troops under command of Major TALCOTT, and captains DENNISON and NEWBURY, proceeded to Narraganset in quest of the enemy, who to the number of about 300 had been discovered in a piece of woods—the English were accompanied by their faithful friend ONZECO, with 100 Mohegans under his command.—In the evening of the 5th they discovered the savages encamped at the foot of a steep hill, on which Major TALCOTT made arrangements for an attack—the Mohegans were ordered by a circuitous route to gain the summit of the hill to prevent the flight of the enemy—two companies of cavalry were ordered to flank them on the right and left, while Major TALCOTT, with a company of foot stationed himself in their rear—having thus disposed of his forces a signal was given by the Major for the Mohegans to commence the attack, which they did and with such spirit (accompanied by their savage yells) that had the enemy been renowned for their valour, they must have been to the highest degree appalled at so unexpected an onset !—after contending a few moments with the Mohegans, the enemy were attacked on the right and left by the

cavalry, who with their cutlasses made great havoc among them ; they were however unwilling to give ground until they had lost nearly one half their number, when they attempted a flight to a swamp in their rear, but here they were met by Maj. TALCOTT, with the company of foot, who gave them so warm a reception that they once more fell back upon the Mohegans, by whom they were very soon overpowered and would have been totally destroyed had not Major TALCOTT humanly interfered in their behalf, and made prisoners of the few that remained alive ;—among the latter was their leader, a squaw, commonly termed the queen of Narraganset ; and among them an active young fellow who begged to be delivered into the hands of the Mohegans, that they might put him to death in their *own way*, and sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which they so much delighted !—The English, although naturally averse to acts of savage barbarity, were not in this instance unwilling to comply with the voluntary although unnatural request of the prisoner, as it appeared that he had in presence of the Mohegans exultingly boasted of having killed 19 of the English with his gun, since the commencement of the war, and after loading it for the 20th (there being no more of the latter within reach) he levelled at a Mohegan, whom he killed, which completing his number, he was willing to die by their hands ;—the Mohegans accordingly began to prepare for the tragical event—forming themselves into a circle (admitting as many of the English as were disposed to witness their savage proceedings) the prisoner was placed in the centre, when one of the Mohegans, who in the late engagement had lost a son, with his knife cut off the prisoners ears ! then his nose ! and then the fingers of each hand !—and after the relapse of a few moments, dug out his eyes and filled their sockets with hot em-



bers!!—although the few English present were overcome with a view of a scene so shocking to humanity, yet the prisoner (so far from bewailing his fate) seemed to surpass his tormentors in expressions of joy!—when nearly exhausted with the loss of blood, and unable longer to stand, his executioner closed the tragic scene by beating out his brains with a tomahawk!

The few Indians that now remained in the neighborhood of Plymouth colony, being in a state of starvation, they surrendered themselves prisoners to the English; one of whom being recognized as the person who had a few days previous inhumanly murdered the daughter of a Mr. CLARKE, was by order of the Governor publicly executed; the remainder were retained and treated as prisoners of war.—By the assistance of one of the prisoners, who served as guide, 20 more of the enemy were on the proceeding day surprised and taken prisoners by the English.

The troops under the command of Major BRADFORD, and Captains MOSELY and BRATTLE, on the 15th September surprised and took 150 of the enemy prisoners near Pautuxet, among whom was the squaw of the celebrated PHILIP—and on the day proceeding, learning that the enemy in considerable bodies were roving about in the woods near Dedham, Major BRADFORD despatched Capt. BRATTLE with fifty men to attack them; who, the day following, fell in with and engaged about 100 of them—as hatchets were the only weapons with which they were provided, they made but a feeble defence, and were soon overpowered by the English, who took 74 of them prisoners, the remainder having fallen in the action—the loss of the English was two killed and five wounded—the above party was commanded by a blood thirsty Sachem, called POMHAM, renowned for his bodily strength, which exceeded that of any of his countrymen ever met



with—he bravely defended himself to the last, being wounded in the breast, and unable to stand, he seized one of the soldiers while in the act of despatching him with the butt of his gun, and by whom he would have been strangled, had he not been fortunately rescued by one of his comrades.

A general famine now prevailing among the enemy, in consequence of being deprived of an opportunity to plant their lands, numbers were daily compelled by hunger to surrender themselves prisoners to the English, among whom was a Nipnet Sachem, accompanied by 180 of his tribe.

On the 12th October, Capt. CHURCH, with fifty soldiers and a few friendly Indians under his command, attacked and defeated a party of the enemy near Providence—and on the day following (conducted by Indian guides) discovered a considerable body of the enemy encamped in a swamp near Pomfret; a friendly Indian first espying them, commanded them to surrender, but the enemy did not appear disposed to obey; being sheltered by large trees, they first discharged their arrows among the English, and then with a terrible yell, attacked them with their long knives and tomahawks—the English meeting with a much warmer reception than what they expected, gave ground, but being rallied by their old and experienced commander, Capt. CHURCH, they rushed upon them with such impetuosity that the enemy were thrown into confusion and dislodged from their coverts—the action continued about an hour and a quarter—the English had 7 men killed, and 14 wounded, among the latter their brave commander, who received an arrow through his left arm—the loss of the enemy was 32 killed and between 60 and 70 wounded.

On the 20th, information was forwarded the Governor and Council that the famous PHILIP (who had been for a

long time skulking about in the woods near Mount-Hope, much disheartened by the ill success of his countrymen) was the morning preceding discovered in a swamp near that place, attended by about 90 Seaconet Indians ; on which the brave Capt. CHURCH, with his little band of invincibles were immediately despatched in pursuit of him—Capt. CHURCH was accompanied as usual by a number of the Mohegans, and a few friendly Seaconet Indians—on the 27th they arrived in the neighborhood of the swamp, near the border of which he stationed several of the Mohegans, to intercept PHILIP in case he should attempt an escape therefrom. Capt. CHURCH, at the head of his little band, now with unconquerable resolution plunged into the swamp, and wading nearly to his waist in water discovered and attacked the enemy.—The Indians were nearly 100 strong, but being unexpectedly attacked they made no resistance but fled in every direction, the inaccessible state of the swamp however prevented the English from pursuing them with success—their dependence was now upon their friends stationed without—nor did it appear that those faithful fellows suffered so good an opportunity to pass unimproved—the reports of their muskets convinced Capt. CHURCH that they were doing their duty—in confirmation of which, he was very soon after presented with the head of KING PHILIP !!

PHILIP, it appeared in attempting to fly from his pursuers, was recognized by one of the English, who had been stationed with the Mohegans to intercept him, and at whom he levelled his piece, but the priming being unfortunately wet and preventing the discharge thereof, the cunning Sachem would yet have escaped had not one of the brave sons of UNCUS at this instant given him the contents of his musket !—the ball went directly through his heart !—and thus fell by the hands of a faithful Mohe-

gan, the famous PHILIP ! who was the projector and instigator of a war which not only proved the cause of his own destruction, but that of nearly all his tribe, once the most numerous of any inhabiting New-England.

It was at this important instant that the English were made witnesses of a remarkable instance of savage custom—ONECO, on learning that PHILIP had fallen by the hand of one of his tribe, urged that agreeable to their custom, he had an undoubted right to the body, and a right to feast himself with a piece thereof ! which the English not objecting to, he deliberately drew his long knife from his girdle and with it detached a piece of flesh from the bleeding body of PHILIP, of about one pound weight, which he broiled and eat, in the mean time declaring that "*he had not for many moons eaten any thing with so good an appetite !*" The head of PHILIP was detached from his body and sent (by Capt. CHURCH) to Boston, to be presented to the Governor and Council, as a valuable trophy.

The few hostile Indians that now remained within the United Colonies, conscious that if so fortunate as to evade the vigilance of the English, they must soon fall victims to the prevailing famine, fled with their families far to the westward ; the English were disposed rather to facilitate than prevent their flight : having been for a number of years engaged in a destructive and bloody war with them, they were willing that the few that remained alive should escape to a country, so far distant that there was no probability of their returning to reassume the bloody tomahawk !—impressed with this idea, and that the enemy were completely exterminated, they were about to bury the hatchet and turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, when by an express, they were informed that the natives in the eastern part of the country (Province of Maine) had unprovokedly attacked and kil-



led a considerable number of the English in that quarter.

To quench the flame which appeared to be enkindling in the east, the Governor despatched four companies of cavalry to the relief of the unfortunate inhabitants.—The enemy (who were of the Kennebeck and Amoscoggin tribes) first attacked with unprecedented fury the defenceless inhabitants settled on Kennebeck river, the most of whom were destroyed or dispersed by them.

On the 2d November, about 700 of the enemy attacked with their accustomed fury (accompanied by their savage yells) the inhabitants of Newchewannick, a English settlement situated a few miles from the mouth of the river Kennebeck—before they had fully accomplished their hellish purpose, they were surprised by the troops sent from Boston, between whom a most bloody engagement now ensued—the Indians, encouraged by their numbers, repelled the attack of the English in so heroic a manner, that the latter were very soon thrown into disorder and driven out of town, where they again formed, faced about and in turn charged the enemy with unconquerable resolution!—the contest now became close and severe, the savages with their terrific yells dexteriously hurled their tomahawks among the English, while the latter with as much dexterity, attacked and mowed them down with their cutlasses!—each were apparently determined on victory or death!—the English at one moment, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the savages, would give ground—at the next, the latter hard pushed by the cavalry, would fall back—thus for the space of two hours did victory appear ballancing between the two contending parties—the field of action was covered with the slain, while the adjacent woods resounded with the shrieks and groans of the wounded:—At this critical juncture the English, when on the very point of surrendering, were



providentially preserved by a stratagem—in the heat of the action, Major BRADFORD despatched a company of cavalry by a circuitous route to attack the enemy in the rear, which had the most happy effect—the enemy suspecting this company a reinforcement of the English, fled in every direction, leaving the English masters of the field—thus, after two hours hard fighting, did the English obtain a victory at the expence of the lives of more than half their number!—their killed and wounded amounted to ninety-nine!—the loss of the enemy was not ascertained, it was however probably three times greater than that of the English.

The day proceeding this bloody engagement, a lieutenant with 12 men were sent by the commander to the place of action to bury their dead, when they were a few rods therefrom, unexpectedly attacked by about 100 of the enemy, who had lain in ambush—the lieutenant ordered his men to reserve their fire until they could discharge with the best effect upon the enemy, by whom they were soon surrounded and furiously attacked on all sides; the savages yelling horribly, brandished their long knives in the air, yet crimsoned with the blood of their countrymen—the brave little band however remained firm and undaunted, and as the savages approached them, each taking proper aim, discharged with so good effect upon them, that the Indians, amazed at the instantaneous destruction of so many of their comrades, fled in every direction—the English sustained no loss.

On the 5th the enemy successfully attacked the inhabitants of the village of Casco, 30 of whom they killed and made prisoners of the family of a Mr. BRACKET, who on the 7th in the following manner made their escape:—the Indians on their return to their wigwams, learning that a detached party of their brethren had attacked with success and plundered the village of Arowsick, to

enjoy a share of the spoil hastened to join them, leaving the prisoners in the care of two old men and three squaws—Mr. BRACKET, whose family consisted of himself, wife, three small children and a negro lad, viewed this as a favourable opportunity to escape, to effect which, he requested the lad to attempt an escape by flight which (being uncommonly active) he easily effected; the plan of Mr. BRACKET had now its desired effect, as the old men pursuing the negro, left him and his family guarded only by the three squaws, whom (being intoxicated) he soon dispatched and returned the day proceeding with his family to Casco, where the negro lad had arrived some hours before.

On the 15th, the Indians attacked the dwelling houses of a Capt. BONITHON, and Maj. PHILIPS, situated on the east side of Casco river—they having seasonable notice of the hostile views of the enemy, the family of the former (as a place of greater safety) had resorted to the house of the latter a few moments previous to the attack.—The savages first communicating fire to the house of Capt. BONITHON, next proceeded furiously to attack the dwelling of Maj. PHILIPS, in which there were about twenty persons, by whom it was most gallantly defended—the enemy had their leader and a number of their party killed by the fire of the English—disparing of taking the house by assault they adopted a new plan to communicate fire thereto—they procured a carriage on which they erected a stage, in front of which was a barricador rendered bullet proof, and to which long poles were attached, nearly 20 feet in length, to the ends of which were affixed every kind of combustible, such as birch barks, straw, pitch, pine, &c.—the Indians were sheltered by the barricador from the fire of the English while they approached the walls of the house with their carriage—the English were now on the eve of despairing, when

fortunately one of the wheels of the carriage being brought in contact with a rock, was turned completely round, which exposed the whole body of Indians to their fire!—this unexpected opportunity was improved with the greatest advantage by the English, who with a few rounds soon dispersed the enemy with no inconsiderable loss.

The day following the Indians attacked and set fire to the house of a Mr. WAKELY, whom with his whole family they murdered—a company of English apprized of their dangerous situation marched to their relief, but arrived too late to afford them assistance—they found the house reduced to ashes, among which they discovered the mangled bodies of the unfortunate family half consumed by fire.

The savages, emboldened by their late success, on the 20th attacked a small English settlement on Piscataqua river, and succeeded in murdering a part and carrying away the remainder of the inhabitants into captivity—as an instance of their wanton barbarity, it should be here mentioned, that after tomahawking and scalping one of the unfortunate women of the above place, they bound to the dead body her little infant, in which situation it was the proceeding day discovered by the English, attempting to draw nourishment from its mother's breast!

The Governor and Council of the United Colonies conceiving it their duty if possible to put a final stop to the ravages of the enemy, in the east, and to prevent the further effusion of innocent blood, despatched Major WALLIS and Major BRADFORD, with six companies under their command, to destroy “root and branch” the common enemy.—On the 1st December they arrived in the neighborhood of Kennebeck, near where they were informed the main body of the enemy were encamped—on the morning of the 3d they fell in with and attacked



them—the enemy, who were about 800 strong, appeared disposed to maintain their ground: they fought with all the fury of savages, and even assailed the English from the tops of lofty trees which they ascended for the purpose; they were possessed of but few fire-arms, but hurled their tomahawks with inconceivable exactness, and checked the progress of the cavalry with long spears!—victory for a long time remained doubtful—the ground being covered with snow, greatly retarded the progress of the troops, who probably would have met with a defeat had not a fresh company of infantry arrived in time to change the fortune of the day—these having remained inactive as a body of reserve, the commander found himself under the necessity of calling for their aid—the enemy, disheartened at the unexpected arrival of an additional number of the English, fled with precipitancy to the woods—but very few of them however escaped, more than 200 of them remained dead upon the field of action, and double that number mortally wounded!—the loss of the English was 55 killed and 97 wounded.—This engagement, which proved a decisive one, was of the greatest importance to the English—the great and arduous work was now completed—the few remaining Indians that inhabited the eastern country, now expressed a desire to bury the bloody hatchet and to make peace with the English—their request was cheerfully complied with, and they continued ever after the faithful friends of the English.

From this important period (which being the 5th day of December, 1679) ought the *peace* and *prosperity* of the now flourishing States of *New-England* to receive their date.—It was at this period that her hardy sons quit the sanguine field, and exchanged their implements of death for such as were better calculated for the cultivation and tillage of their farms.—The forests with which



they were encompassed, no longer abounded with fierce and untutored savages—the Indian death song and war-whoop, was no longer heard—the greater part of the Indians that survived the many bloody engagements, had sought peace and retirement far westward—the prisoners which the English had captured were liberated upon condition of resorting to and remaining with them—they proved faithful to their promise, they took possession of the country bounding on the great lakes, and in possession of which their descendants remain to the present day—a description of whose manners and customs will be found in the proceeding chapter.

We shall close this with a few remarks relative to the state, customs and ludicrous opinions of the *Indians*, in *New-England*, when first visited by our forefathers, and of their rapid depopulation since that period.

We cannot even hazard a conjecture respecting the Indian population of *New-England*, at the time of its first settlement by the English. Capt. SMITH, in a voyage to this coast in 1614, supposed that on the Massachusetts island, there were about 3000 Indians—all accounts agree that the sea coast and neighboring islands were thickly inhabited,

Three years before the arrival of the Plymouth colony, a very mortal sickness, supposed to have been the plague, or perhaps the yellow fever, raged with great violence among the Indians in the eastern parts of *New-England*. Whole towns were depopulated. The living were not able to bury the dead : and their bones were found lying above ground many years after. The Massachusetts Indians are said to have been reduced from 30,000 to 300 fighting men. In 1633, the small-pox swept off great numbers of the Indians in Massachusetts.

In 1763, on the Island of Nantucket, in the space of four months, the Indians were reduced by a mortal sick-

ness, from 520 to 85 souls. The hand of Providence is notable in these surprising instances of mortality among the Indians to make room for the whites. Comparatively few have perished by wars; and the descendants of the few that were not driven to the westward by the English, waste and moulder away and in a manner unaccountable disappear.

The number of Indians in the state of Connecticut in 1774, was *one thousand three hundred and sixty-three*; but their number is now doubtless much lessened. The principal part of their population in this state is at Mohegan, in the county of New-London—these are the descendants of the Mohegans, of whom frequent mention is made in the foregoing pages as being very serviceable (under the command of Uncus) to the English, in their many engagements with the natives.—The Mohegans have ever exhibited great reverence for the descendants of their royal *Sachem*.—After the death of Uncus, his body was conveyed (by his request) to Norwich, and there interred in the neighborhood of one of his forts—this spot was selected by him, previous to his death, and it was his dying request that the whole family of Uncus should be there buried, a request which has been strictly complied with by the Mohegans; who, although the distance is seven miles from their own burying ground, have and continue to deposit there the descendants of their reverend *Sachem*.

The number of Indians in Rhode-Island in 1783, was only *five hundred and twenty-five*. More than half of these live in Charleston, in the county of Washington.—In 1774, the number of Indians in Rhode-Island was *one thousand four hundred and eighty-two*; so that in nine years the decrease was *nine hundred and fifty-seven*.—We have not been able to ascertain the exact state of the Indian population in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

In 1784, there was a tribe of about forty Indians at Norridgewalk, in the Province of Maine, with some few other scattering remains of tribes in other parts; and a number of towns thinly inhabited round Cape Cod:

When the English first arrived in America, the Indians had no time or places set apart for religious worship.—The first settlers in *New-England* were at great pains to introduce among them the habits of civilized life, and to instruct them in the Christian religion. A few years intercourse with the Indians induced them to establish several good and natural regulations.

The Rev. Mr. ELLIOT, of Roxbury, near Boston, who has been styled the great *Indian apostle*, with much labor learned the Natic dialect of the Indian languages. He published an Indian grammar, and preached in Indian to several tribes, and in 1664, translated the bible and several religious books into the Indian language.—He relates several pertinent queries of the Indians respecting the Christian religion. Among others, whether Jesus Christ, the mediator or interpreter, could understand prayer in the Indian language? If the father be bad and the child good, why should God in the second commandment be offended with the child? How the Indians came to differ so much from the English in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they all sprang from one father?—Mr. ELLIOT was indefatigable in his labors, and travelled through all parts of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, as far as Cape Cod. The colony had such a veneration for him, that in an act of the General Assembly relating to Indians, they express themselves thus, "By the advice of the said magistrates and of Mr. ELLIOT."

Concerning the religion of the untaught natives of New-England, who once held a plurality of deities, after the arrival of the English, supposed there were only



three, because they saw people of three kinds of complexions, viz—English, Negroes, and themselves.

It was a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that it was not the same God made them who made us ; but that they were created after the white people ; and it is probably they supposed their God gained some special skill, by seeing the white people made, and so made them better ; for it is certain they looked upon themselves, and their methods of living, which they say their God expressly prescribed for them, vastly preferable to the white people and their methods.

With regard to a future state of existence, many of them imagined that the *chichung*, i. e. the shadow, or what survived the body, would at death go southward, and in an unknown but curious place—would enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they supposed would contribute much to their happiness, was, that they should there never be weary of those entertainments.

The natives of New-England believed not only a plurality of Gods, who made and governed the several nations of the world ; but they made deities of every thing they imagined to be great, powerful, beneficial, and hurtful to mankind ; yet they conceived an Almighty Being, whom they called KICKTAU, who at first, according to their tradition, made a man and woman out of stone, but upon some dislike destroyed them again, and then made another couple out of a tree, from whom descended all the nations of the earth ; but how they come to be scattered and dispersed into countries so remote from one another they could not tell. They believed their Supreme God to be a good being, and paid a sort of acknowledgment to him for plenty, victory and other benefits.

The immortality of the soul was universally believed among them. When good men died, they said, their



souls went to KICHTAU, where they met with their friends, and enjoyed all manner of pleasures ; when the wicked died, they went to KICHTAU also, but were commanded to walk away ; and so wander about in restless discontent and darkness forever.

The natives of *New-England* in general were quick of apprehension, ingenious, and when pleased nothing could exceed their courtesy and friendship—gravity and eloquence distinguished them in council, address and bravery in war ;—they were not more easily provoked than the English, but when once they had received an injury, it was never forgotten—in anger, they were not like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful. The men declined all labor and spent their time in hunting, fishing, shooting, and warlike exercises. They imposed all the drudgery upon their women, who gathered and brought home their wood, planted, dressed and gathered their corn—when they travelled the women carried their children, packs and provisions—the women submitted patiently to such treatment, this ungenerous usage of their husbands, they repaid with smiles and good humour.

The cloathing of the natives was the skins of wild beasts, the men threw a mantle of skins over them, and wore a small flap which were termed Indian breeches—the women were much more modest, they wore a coat of skins, girt about their loins which reached down to their hams, which they never put off in company—if the husband chose to dispose of his wife's beaver petticoat, she could not be persuaded to part with it, until he had provided another of some sort. In the winter, their blanket of skins which hung loose in summer, was tied or wrapped more closely about them—the old men in the several seasons also wore a sort of trowsers made of skins and fastened to their girdles, and on their feet they wore

quocasons, made of moose leather, and their chiefs or sachems wore on their heads a cap decorated with feathers.

Their houses or wigwags were at best but miserable cells; they were constructed generally like arbours, or small young trees bent and twisted together, and so curiously covered with mats or bark, that they were tolerably dry and warm—the natives made their fires in the centre of the house, and there was an opening at the top which emitted the smoke;—for the convenience of wood and water, these huts were commonly erected in groves, near some river brook or living spring; when either failed the family removed to another place.

They lived in a poor low manner, their food was coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning—they had neither spice, salt or bread—their food was principally the entrails of moose, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild beasts and fowls; of fish and snakes they were extremely fond—they had strong stomachs and nothing came amiss!—they had no set meals, but like other wild creatures ate when they were hungry, and could find any thing to satisfy the cravings of nature—they had but little food from the earth except what it spontaneously produced—Indian corn, beans and squashes, were the only eatables for which the natives of New-England labored.

Their household furniture was of but small value—their beds were composed of mats or skins; they had neither chairs or stools, but commonly sat upon the ground with their elbows upon their knees—a few wooden and stone vessels and instruments served all the purposes of domestic life—their knife was a sharp stone, shell or kind of reed, which they sharpened in such a manner as to cut their hair, make their bows and arrows, &c.—they made their axes of stone, which they shaped somewhat similar to our axes, but with the dis-

ference of their being made with a neck instead of an eye, and fastened with a withe, like a blacksmith's chisel.

The manner of the courtship and marriage of the natives manifested the impurity of their morals.—When a young Indian wished for marriage, he presented the girl with whom he was enamoured, with bracelets, belts and chains of wampum—if she received his presents they cohabited together for a time upon trial—if they pleased each other they were joined in marriage: but if after a few weeks, they were not suited, the man, leaving his presents quitted the girl and sought another mistress, and she another lover—in this manner they courted until two met who were agreeable to each other.

The natives of New-England, although they consisted of a great number of different nations and clans, appear to have spoken radically the same language—from Piscataqua to Connecticut, it was so nearly the same, that the different tribes could converse tolerably together—the Mohegan or Pequot language was essentially that of all the Indians in New-England—the word Mohegan, is a corruption of Muhhekaneew, in the singular, or of Muhhekaneek in the plural number.—The Penobscots, bordering on Nova-Scotia, the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada, the Delawares, in Pennsylvania, the Shawanese, on the Ohio, and the Chippewaus, at the westward of lake Huron, all now speak the same radical language.

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#### CHAP. IV.

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#### OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES OF INDIANS INHABITING THE WESTERN COUNTRY.

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WE shall now speak of the Indians who occupy the

interior of America:—They are the descendants of those who once inhabited the sea-coasts, and who were driven by the English (as mentioned in the proceeding chapter) far to the westward, so that but few of their descendants are now to be found within less than two or three hundred miles of the sea : for though many of them have been instructed in the knowledge of christianity, and districts of land have been allotted them in several of the British colonies, where they have been formed into societies ; yet it has been found that in proportion as they lay by their ancient customs, and conform to the manners of civilized life, they dwindle away, either because the change is prejudicial to their constitutions, or because when settled among the English they have great opportunities of procuring spiritous liquors, of which both sexes are in general inordinately fond ; very little care being ever taken to prevent those who are inclined to take advantage of them in trade, from basely intoxicating them, for that purpose : this has a powerful effect on their constitutions, and soon proves fatal, producing diseases to which they were formally strangers. Thus were a few years ago there were considerable settlements of them, their name is almost forgotten ; and those who still remain, have for the most part, joined themselves to other nations in the interior part of the country, on the banks of the lakes and rivers.

The Indians in Canada and to the south of it, are tall and straight beyond the proportion of most other nations ; their bodies are strong, but it has been observed that this is a strength rather suited to endure the exercise of the chase, than much hard labor, by which they are soon consumed ; they have generally supple limbs, and the smallest degree of deformity is very rarely seen amongst them. Their features are regular, their complexion somewhat of a copper color, or a reddish brown ; their



hair, which is long, black, and lank, is as strong as that of a horse. They carefully eradicate the hair from every part of the body except the head, and there they confine it to a tuft at the top ; whence an erroneous idea has much prevailed that the men of this country are naturally destitute of beards ; but it is unquestionable that it is only an artificial deprivation.

They generally wear only a blanket wrapped about them, or a shirt, both of which they purchase of the English traders : when the Europeans first came among them they found some nations entirely naked, and others with a coarse cotton cloth, wove by themselves, round their waist ; but in the northern parts their whole bodies were in winter covered with skins.

The *Huron* Indians possess a very pleasant and fertile country on the eastern side of the lake which bears the same name. Half a century ago they were very numerous, and could raise *six or seven hundred* warriors, but they have suffered greatly from the attacks of neighboring tribes. They differ in their manners from any of the Indian tribes by which they are surrounded. They build regular houses which they cover with bark, and are considered as the most wealthy Indians on the continent, having not only many horses, but some black cattle and swine. They likewise raise much corn, so that after providing for their own wants, they are enabled to barter the remainder with other tribes. Their country extends one hundred and fifty miles eastward of the lake, but is narrower in the contrary direction : the soil is not exceeded by any in this part of the world : the timber is tall and beautiful, the woods abound with game, and abundance of fish may be obtained from the rivers and lakes ; so that if it was well cultivated, the land would equal that on any part of the sea coast of North-America. A missionary of the order of Carthusian friars, by permission

the Bishop of Canada, resides among them, and is by them amply rewarded for his services.

Those tribes of Indians who inhabit the banks of lakes Champlain, Georgia, and Ontario, were formerly called *Iroquois*, but have since been known by the name of "the five Mohawk nations;" and "the Mohawks of Canada;" the former are called Onondagoes, Oniades, Senecas, Tuscarovies, and Truondock; these fought on the side of the English in the contest for territory with France; the Cohnawahgans and St. Francis Indians joined the French.

The knowledge which we have of the Indians further to the S. W. as far as beyond 42° N. latitude, is chiefly obtained from the very worthy provincial officer Major CARVER, who travelled into those parts, in the year 1766, and whose placid manners and artless sincerity could not fail of recommending him to men whom nature alone had instructed. He visited twelve nations of Indians, among which the following appear to be the most considerable; the Chipeway, who dwell to the southward of lake Superior, and the Ottawas; the Winnebagoes to the W. of lake Michigan, who with the Saukies, and Ottiganmies occupy the whole extent of country from the lake to the Mississippi, below 42° N. latitude, where the Ousconsin river discharges itself. The Nandowesse, the most numerous and extended Indian nation, inhabit the country on the W. of the Mississippi, on the borders of Louisiana.

The Indians in general are strangers to the passions of jealousy; and the most profligate of their young men very rarely attempt the virtue of married woman, nor do such often put themselves in the way of solicitation, although the Indian women, in general, are armorous, and, before marriage, not less esteemed for gratifying their passions.—It appears to have been a very prevalent cus-

tom with the Indians of this country, before they become acquainted with the Europeans, to compliment strangers with their wives ; and the custom still prevails, not only among the lower rank, but, even among the chiefs themselves, who consider such an offer as the greatest proof of courtesy they can give a stranger.

The men are remarkable for their indolence, on which they even seem to value themselves ; saying that labor would degrade them, and belongs solely to the women, while they are formed only for war, hunting and fishing ; it is, however, their business to make arms for hunting and lines for fishing ; to form their canoes, and build their houses ; but they frequently make the women assist them in these, besides attending to all domestic affairs, and cultivating the land. They have a method of lighting up their huts with torches, made of the splinters cut from the pine or birch tree.

The Indians have generally astonishing patience and equanimity of mind, with the command of every passion except revenge. They bear the most sudden and unexpected misfortune with calmness and composure, without uttering a word, or the least change of countenance. Even a prisoner, who knows not whether he may not in a few hours be put to the most cruel death, seems entirely unconcerned, and eats and drinks with as much cheerfulness as those into whose hands they have fallen. Their resolution and courage under sickness and pain, is nearly astonishing. Even when under the shocking torture to which prisoners are frequently exposed, they will not only make themselves cheerful, but provoke and irritate their tormentors by most severe reproaches.

They are grave in their deportment upon serious occasions, observant of those in company, respectful to the old ; of a temper cool and deliberate, by which they are never in haste to speak before they have well thought of

the matter, and sure that the person who spoke before them has finished all that he had to say. In their public councils, every man is heard in his turn according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country, have ranked him. Not a whisper, nor a murmur is heard from the reast, while he speaks; no indecent commendations; no ill-timed applause. The young attend for their instruction; for here they learn the history of their nation, are animated by those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors; are taught what is the interest of their country, and how to cultivate and pursue it.

Hospitality is exercised among them with the utmost generosity and good will: Their houses, their provisions and even their young women are presented to a guest. To those of their own nation they are likewise very humane and beneficent. If any of them succeed ill in hunting, if his harvest fails, or his house is burnt, he feels no other effect of his misfortune, than its giving him an opportunity of experiencing the benevolence and regard of his countrymen, who, for that purpose, have almost every thing in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended him, the native American is implacable. He never indeed makes use of oaths, or indecent expressions, but cruelly conceals his sentiments, till by treachery or surprise he can gratify his revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place is great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, pierces impervious forests, and traverses the most hideous deserts; bearing the inclemency of the season, the fatigue of the expedition, the extreems of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, and exercising upon him the most shocking barbarities. When these cannot be



effected, the revenge is left as a legacy, transferred from generation to generation, from father to son till an opportunity offers of taking what they think ample satisfaction. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship, or their enmity ; and such indeed is, in general, the character of all uncivilized nations. They, however, esteem nothing so unworthy a man of sense, as a peevish temper, and a proneness to a sudden and rash anger.

On the other hand, they are highly sensible of the utility and pleasures of friendship : for each of them, at a certain age, makes choice of some one nearly of the same standing in life to be their most intimate and bosom friend, these two enter into mutual engagements, by which they oblige themselves to brave any danger and run any risk, to assist and support each other. This attachment is even carried so far as to overcome the fear of death, which they consider as only a temporary separation, being persuaded that they shall meet and be united in friendship in the other world, never to be separated more ; and that there they shall need one another's assistance as well as here.

It does not appear that there is any Indian nation that has not some sense of a deity, and a kind of superstitious religion. Their ideas of the nature and attributes of God are very obscure, and some of them absurd, though they conceive of him as the Great Spirit, and imagine that his more immediate residence is on the island of the great lakes. They seem to have some idea that there are spirits of a higher and more excellent nature than man ; and supposing them to be every where present, frequently invoke them, and endeavour to act agreeable to their desires. They likewise imagine that there is an evil spirit, who they say is always inclined to mischief, and bears great sway in the creation ; this indeed is the

principal object of their devotions; they generally address him most heartily, beseeching him to do them no harm: but supposing the others to be propitious, and ever inclined to do good, they intreat those spirits to bestow blessings upon them and prevent the evil spirit from hurting them. Major CARVER relates that one of the most considerable chiefs among the Ottawaws with whom he remained a night, on attending him to his canoe the next morning with great solemnity, and in an audable voice offered up a fervent prayer, as he entered his canoe, "that the great spirit would favor him with a prosperous voyage; that he would give him an unclouded sky, and smooth waters by day, and that he might lie down by night on a beaver blanket, enjoying uninterrupted sleep and pleasant dreams; and also that he might find continual security under the great pipe of peace." To procure the protection of the good spirit, they imagine it necessary to distinguish themselves, and that they must above all other attainments, become good warriors, expert hunters, and steady marksmen.

Their priests often persuade the people that they have revelations of future events, and are authorised to command them to pursue such and such measures. They also undertake to unfold the mysteries of religion, and to solve and interpret all their dreams. They represent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhaustible plenty of every thing desirable, where they shall enjoy the most full and exquisite gratification of all their senses. —This is doubtless the motive that induces the Indian to meet death with such indifference and composure; none of them being in the least dismayed at the news that he has but a few hours or minutes to live, but with the greatest intrepidity sees himself upon the brink of being separated from all terrestrial things, and with great serenity talks to all around him: thus a father

leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

They testify great indifference for the productions of art ; when any curious piece of mechanism is shown them they say, " It is pretty, I like to look at it," but express no curiosity about its construction. Such however is not their behaviour when they are told of a person who distinguishes himself by agility in running ; is well skilled in hunting ; can take a most exact aim ; work a canoe along a rapid with great dexterity ; is skilled in all the arts which their stealthy mode of carrying on a war is capable of ; or is acute in discovering the situation of a country, and can, without a guide pursue his proper course through a vast forest, and support hunger, thirst, and fatigue with invincible firmness ; at such a relation their attention is aroused ; they listen to the interesting tale with delight, and express in the strongest terms their esteem for so great so wonderful a man.

They generally bury their dead with great decency and deposit in the grave such articles as the deceased had made the greatest use of and been most attached to ; as his bow and arrows, pipes, tobacco, &c. that he may not be in want of any thing when he comes to the other country : The mothers mourn for their children a long time, and the neighbours make presents to the father ; and he in return gives them a feast.

Every band has a leader who bears the title of *Sachem* or chief warrior, and is chosen for his tried valor and skill in conducting war ; to him is entrusted all military operations, but his authority does not extend to civil affairs, the pre-eminence there being given to another, who possesses it by a kind of hereditary claim, and whose assent is necessary to render valid all conveyances of land, or treaties of whatever kind to which he affixes the mark of the tribe or nation. Though these military and civil



chiefs are considered as the heads of the band, and the latter is usually styled king, yet the American Indians consider themselves as controlled by neither civil nor military authority : every individual regards himself as free and independent, and would never renounce the idea of liberty ; therefore injunctions conveyed in the style of a positive command, would be disregarded and treated with contempt. Nor do their leaders assume an ascendancy repugnant to these sentiments, but merely advise what is necessary to be done, which is sufficient to produce the most prompt and effectual execution, never producing a murmur.

Their great council is composed of the heads of tribes and families, with such whose capacity has raised them to the same degree of consideration. They meet in a house, built in each of their towns for that purpose, and also to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary songs, or to commemorate the dead. In these councils they propose all such matters as concern the state, and which have been already digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist. The chiefs seldom speak much themselves at these general meetings, but intrust their sentiments with a person who is called their speaker, or orator, there being one of this profession in every tribe or town ; and their manner of speaking is natural and easy, their words strong and expressive, their style bold, figurative, and laconic, whatever is told tending either to form the judgment or rouse the passions.

When any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song on the remarkable events of their history, and whatever may tend to their honor or instruction. The others sing in their



turn. They also have dances, chiefly of a martial kind ; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without songs and dances.

As the Indians are high spirited and soon irritated, the most trifling provocations frequently rouse them to arms, and prove the occasions of bloodshed and murder.—Their petty private quarrels are often decided this way, and expeditions undertaken without the knowledge or consent of a general council. These private expeditions are winked at, and excused, as a means of keeping their young men in action, and inuring them to the exertions of war.

But when war becomes a national affair, it is entered upon with great deliberation. They first call an assembly of the sachems or chief warriors, to deliberate upon the affair, and every thing relating to it. In this general congress among the northern Indians and the Five Nations, the women have a voice as well as the men. When they are assembled, the chief sachem or president, proposes the affair they have met to consult upon, and taking up the tomahawk, which lies by him, says "Who among you will go and fight against such a nation? Who among you will bring captives from thence to replace our deceased friends, that our wrongs may be revenged and our name and our honor maintained, as long as the rivers flow, the grass grows, or the sun and moon shall endure?" Then one of the principal warriors rising, harrangues the whole assembly, and afterward, addressing himself to the young men, enquires who among them will go along with him, and fight their enemies? When they generally rise, one after another, and fall in behind him, while he walks round the circle, till he is joined by a sufficient number.

On such occasions they have usually a deer, or some other beast roasted whole ; and each of them, as they

consent to go to war, cuts off a piece and eats, saying, "Thus will I devour our enemies," mentioning the nation they are going to attack. The ceremony being performed, the dance begins, and they sing the war song, which has relation to their intended expedition and conquest, or to their own skill, courage and dexterity in fighting, and the manner in which they will vanquish their enemies. Their expressions are strong and pathetic, attended with a tone that inspires terror.

Such is the influence of their women in these consultations, that the issue depends much upon them. If any one of them in conjunction with the chiefs, has a mind to excite one, who does not immediately depend upon them, to take a part in the war, she presents, by the hands of some trusty young warrior, a string of wampum, to the person whose help she solicits, which seldom fails of producing the effect: But when they solicit an offensive or defensive alliance with a whole nation, they send an embassy with a large belt of wampum and a bloody hatchet, inviting them to come and drink the blood of their enemies.

The wampum used on these and other occasions before their acquaintance with Europeans, was only small shells, which they picked up by the sea coasts, and on the banks of the lakes. It now consists principally of a kind of cylindrical beads, made of white and black shells, which are esteemed among them as silver and gold are among us. The black they think the most valuable; both of them are their greatest riches and ornaments, answering all the ends of money among us.— They have the art of stringing, twisting, and interweaving them into their belts, collars, blankets, &c. in ten thousand different sizes, forms, and figures, so as not only to be ornaments for every part of dress, but expressive of all their important transactions. They dig

the wampum of various colors and shades; and as they are made significant of almost any thing they please, by these their records are kept, and their thoughts communicated to one another, as ours are by writing. Thus the belts that pass from one nation to another, in all important transactions, are carefully preserved in the cabin of their chiefs, and serve both as a kind of record or history, and as a public treasure; hence they are never used on trifling occasions.

The calmut, or pipe of peace, is of no less importance, nor is it less revered among them. The bowl of this pipe is made of a kind of soft red stone, easily wrought and hallowed out; the stem is of cane, or a kind of light wood, painted with different colors, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers, of the most beautiful birds, &c. The use of the calmut, is to smoke either tobacco or some other herb used instead of it, when they enter into an alliance or any solemn engagement; this being esteemed the most sacred oath that can be taken, the violation of which is thought to be most infamous, and deserving severe punishment in the other life. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; sometimes it is red only on one side, and by the disposition of the feathers, &c. a person acquainted with their customs, knows at first sight the intentions or desires of the nation who presents it.—Smoaking the calmut is also upon some occasions and in all treaties considered as a sacred oath, as a seal of their decrees, and a pledge of their performance of them, The size and decorations of their calmuts are commonly proportioned to the importance of the occasion, to the quality of the persons to whom they are presented, and to the esteem and regard they have for them.

Another instrument of great importance among them is the tomahawk. This is an ancient weapon, used by



them in war, before they were taught the use of iron or steel, since which hatchets have been substituted in the room of them, but still it retains its use and importance in public transactions : and like the pipe, is frequently very significant. This instrument is formed in some respects like a hatchet, having a long handle ; the head, which is a round knob of solid wood calculated to knock a man down, has on the other side a point, bending a little toward the handle ; and near the centre where the handle pierces the head another point projects forward, of a considerable length, which serves to thrust with like a spear. The tomahawk is also ornamented with painting and feathers, disposed and varigated in many significant forms according to the occasion and end for which they are used ; and on it is kept a kind of journal of their marches and most important occurrences, in a sort of hieroglyphics. When the council is called to deliberate on war, the tomahawk is colored red ; and when the council sits it is laid down by the chief, and if war be concluded upon, the captain of the young warriors takes it up, and holding it in his hand, dances and sings the war song. When the council is over, this or some other of the same kind, is sent by the hands of the same warrior to every tribe concerned ; who with it presents a belt of wampum, and delivers his message, throwing the tomahawk on the ground, which is taken up by one of the most expert warriors, if they choose to join ; if not, it is returned with a belt of their wampum suited to the occasion.

Each nation or tribe has its distinct ensigns, generally consisting of some beast, bird, or fish. Thus the Five Nations have the bear, otter, wolfe, tortoise, and eagle ; by these names the tribes are generally distinguished, and the shapes of these animals are pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies. Generally, when they



march through the woods, they at every encampment cut the figure of their arms on the trees, especially when they have had a successful campaign, that travellers may know that they have been there; recording also in their way the number of prisoners and scalps they have taken.

Their military appearance is very odd and terrible.— They cut off all their hair, except a spot on the crown of their head, and pluck out their eye-brows. The lock left upon the head is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened, and intermixed with beads and feathers of various shapes and colors, the whole twisted and connected together. They paint themselves with a red pigment down to the eye brows, which they sprinkle over with white down. The gristle of their ears are slit almost quite round, and hung with ornaments that have generally the figure of some bird or beast drawn upon them. Their noses are likewise bored and hung with beads, and their faces painted with various colors. On their breasts are a gorget or medal of brass, copper, or some other metal; and by a string which goes round their necks, is suspended that horrid weapon called the scalping knife.

Thus equipped, they march forth, singing their war song, till they lose sight of their village; and are generally followed by their women, who assist them in carrying their baggage, whether by land or water, but commonly return before they proceed to action.

They have generally one commander for every ten men; and if the number amounts to one hundred, a general is appointed over the others, not properly to command, but to give his opinion. They have no stated rules of discipline, or fixed methods of carrying on a war but make their attacks in as many different ways as there are occasions, but generally in flying parties, equipped for that purpose.

The weapons used by those who trade with the English and French are commonly a firelock, a hatchet, and a scalping knife; but the others use bows, tomahawks and pikes. As the commander in chief governs only by advice, and can neither reward nor punish, every private may return home when he pleases without assigning any reason for it; or any number may leave the main body, and carry on a private expedition, in whatever manner they please, without being called to account for their conduct.

When the Indians return from a successful campaign, they contrive their march so as to approach their village till toward the evening. They then send two or three forward to acquaint their chief, and the whole village, with the most material circumstances of their campaign. At day light next morning, they give their prisoners new clothes, paint their faces with various colors, and put into their hand a white staff, tasselled round with the tails of deer. This being done, the war captain sets up a cry, and gives as many yells as he has taken prisoners and scalps, and the whole village assemble at the water side. As soon as the warriors appear, four or five of their young men, well clothed, get into a canoe, if they come by water, or otherwise march by land: the two first carrying each a calmut, go out singing to search the prisoners, whom they lead in triumph to the cabin where they are to receive their doom. The owner of this cabin has the power of determining their fate, though it is often left to some woman who has lost her husband, brother, or son in the war; and when this is the case, she generally adopts him into the place of the deceased. The prisoner has victuals immediately given him and while he is at this repast, a consultation is held; and if it be resolved to save his life, two young men unite him, and taking him by the hands, lead him to the cabin of the

person into whose family he is to be adopted, and there he is received with all imaginable marks of kindness. He is treated as a friend, as a brother, or as a husband, and they soon love him with the same tenderness as if he stood in the place of one of their friends. In short, he has no other marks of captivity, but his not being suffered to return to his own nation, for his attempting this would be punished with certain death.

But if the sentence be death, how different their conduct ! these people, who behave with such disinterested affection to each other, with such tenderness to those whom they adopt, here shew that they are truly savages ; the dreadful sentence is no sooner passed, than the whole village set up the death cry ; and, as if there were no medium between the most generous friendship and the most inhuman cruelty ; for the execution of him whom they had just before deliberated upon admitting into their tribe is no longer deferred, than whilst they can make the necessary preparations for rioting in the most diabolical cruelty. They first strip him, and fixing two posts in the ground, fasten to them two pieces from one to the other ; one about two feet from the ground, the other about five or six feet higher : then obliging the unhappy victim to mount upon the lower cross piece, they tie his legs to it a little asunder : his hands are extended and tied to the angles formed by the upper piece. In this posture they burn him all over the body, sometimes first daubing him with pitch. The whole village, men, women, and children, assemble round him, every one torturing him in what manner they please, each striving to exceed the other in cruelty, as long as he has life. But if none of the bye-standers are inclined to lengthen out his torments, he is either shot to death, or inclosed with dry bark, to which they set fire ; they then leave him on the frame, and in the evening run from cabin to cabin,



superstiously striking with small twigs, the furniture, walls, and roofs to prevent his spirit from remaining there to take vengeance for the evils committed on his body. The remainder of the day and the night following is spent in rejoicing.

This is the most usual method of murdering their prisoners; but sometimes they fasten them to a single stake, and build a fire around them; at other times they cruelly mangle their limbs, cut off their fingers and toes joint by joint, and sometimes scald them to death.

What is the most extraordinary, if the sufferer be an Indian, there seems during the whole time of his execution, a contest between him and his tormentors, which shall outdo the other, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them: not a groan, nor a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him in the midst of his torments. It is even said, that he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens with the revenge that will attend his death: that he even reproaches them for their ignorance of the art of tormenting; points out methods of more exquisite torture, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted.

The scalps, those dreadful proofs of the barbarity of these Indians, are valued, and hung up in their houses as the trophies of their bravery; and they have certain days when the young men gain a new name or title of honor, according to the qualities of the persons to whom these scalps belonged. This name they think a sufficient reward for the dangers and fatigues of many campaigns, as it renders them respected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies.

In the late American revolution, Britain had the inhumanity to reward these sons of barbarity for depredations committed upon those who were struggling in the cause



of liberty !—It was through their instigation that the hatchets of the Indians were made drunk with American blood ! the widow's wail, the virgin's shriek, and infant's trembling cry, was musick in their ears. In cold blood they struck their cruel tomahawks into the defenceless head of a Miss M'KRAY, a beautiful girl, who was that very day to have been married !—the particulars of the inhuman transaction follow :—Previous to the late war between America and Great-Britain, a British officer by the name of JONES, an accomplished young man, resided near Fort Edward—his visits thither became more frequent when he found himself irresistibly drawn by charms of native worth and beauty. Miss M'KRAY, whose memory is dear to humanity and true affection, was the object of his peregrinations.

Mr. JONES had not taken the precautions necessary in hazardous love, but had manifested to the lady by his constant attention, undissembled and ingenious demeanor, that ardent affection, which a susceptible heart compelled her implicitly to return. In this mutual interchange of passions, they suffered themselves to be transported on the ocean of imagination, till the unwelcome necessity of a separation cut off every springing hope. The war between Great-Britain and America commenced—a removal from this happy spot was in consequence suggested to Mr. JONES, as indispensable. Nothing could alleviate their mutual horror, but duty—nothing could allay their reciprocal grief, so as to render a separate corporeal existence tolerable, but solemn vows, with the ideas of a future meeting. Mr. JONES repaired to Canada, where all intercourse with the Provincials was prohibited. Despair, which presented itself in aggravated colours when General BURGOINE's expedition through the States was fixed, succeeded to his former hopes. The British army being encamped about three

miles from the Fort, a descent was daily projected.—Here Mr. JONES could not but recognize the spot, on which rested all his joys. He figured to his mind the dread, which his hostile approach must raise in the breast of her, whom of all others, he thought it his highest interest to protect.—In spite of arrettes and commands to the contrary, he found means secretly to convey a letter, intreating her not to leave the town with the family, assuring her, that as soon as the fort should have surrendered, he would convey her to an asylum, where they might peaceably consummate the nuptial ceremony. Far from discrediting the sincerity of him who could not deceive her, she heroically refused to follow the flying villagers: The remonstrances of a father, or the tearful intreaties of a mother and numerous friends could not avail ! It was enough that her lover was her friend—she considered herself protected by the love and voluntary assurances of her youthful hero. With the society of a servant maid, she impatiently waited the desired conveyance. Mr. JONES finding the difficulty into which he was brought, at length, for want of better convoy, hired a party of twelve Indians, to carry a letter to Miss M'KRAY, with his own horse, for the purpose of carrying her to the place appointed. They set off, fired with the anticipation of their promised premium, which was to consist of a quantity of spirits, on condition that they brought her off in safety, which, to an Indian was the most cogent stimulous the young lover could have named. Having arrived in view of her window, they sagaciously held up the letter, to prevent the fears and apprehensions which a savage knows he must excite, in the sight of tenderness and sensibility. Her faith and expectations enabled her to divine the business of these ferocious missionaries, while her frightened maid uttered nought but shrieks and cries. They ar-

rived, and by their signs convinced her from whom they had their instructions. If a doubt could remain, it was removed by the letter—it was from her lover. A lock of his hair, which it contained, presented his manly figure to her gloomy fancy.

Here, reader, guess what must have been her ecstasy.—She resolved to brave even the most horrid aspect, which might appear between her and him, whom she considered already hers, without a sigh—she did not for a moment hesitate to follow the wishes of her lover; and took journey with these bloody messengers, expecting very soon to be shielded in the arms of legitimate affection. A short distance only then seemed to separate two of the happiest of mortals.—Alas! how soon are the most brilliant pictures of felicity defaced by the burning hand of affliction and woe! How swiftly are the halcyon dreams, which lull the supine indolence of thought, succeeded by the real pangs which are inflicted by a punishing providence or a persecuting foe!

Having risen the hill, at about equal distance from the camp and her former home, a second party of Indians having heard of the captivating offer made by Mr. Jones, determined to avail themselves of the opportunity. The reward was the great object. A clashing of real and assumed rights was soon followed by a furious and bloody engagement, in which several were killed on each side. The commander of the first party, perceiving that nought but the lady's death could appease the fury of either, with a tomahawk deliberately knocked her from her horse, mangled her scalp from her beautiful temples, which he exultingly bore as a trophy of zeal to the expectant and anxious lover!! Here, O disappointment, was thy sting! It was with the greatest difficulty that Mr. Jones could be kept from total delirium. His horror and indignation could not be appeased;



his remorse for having risked his most valuable treasure in the hands of savages ! drove him almost to madness. When the particulars of the melancholy event reached Gen. BURGOYNE, he ordered the survivors of both these parties to immediate execution.

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CHAP. V.

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INVASION OF NEW-YORK AND NEW-ENGLAND  
AND  
DESTRUCTION OF SCHENECTADY, BY THE  
*FRENCH AND INDIANS, IN 1690:*

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IN the year 1690, the Mohawks having made several successful expeditions against the Canadians, the Count FRONTENAC (to raise the depressed spirit of the latter) despatched several parties of French and Indians to attack the frontier settlements of New-York and New-England. A detachment of nearly 500 French and Indians, under the command of Monsieurs P. AILLEBOU, DE WAULET and LE WAYNE, were despatched from Montreal for this purpose ;—they were furnished with every thing necessary for a winter's campaign.—After a march of twenty-two days, they on the 8th February reached Schenectady —they had on their march been so reduced as to harbor thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the English ; but their spies (who had been for several days in the village, entirely unsuspected) representing in so strong terms the defenceless state of the inhabitants, as determined them to make an immediate attack.—They found the gates open and unguarded—they entered them about eleven o'clock at night, and the better to effect their hellish purpose divided their main body into several dis-



tinct parties of six or seven men each!—the inhabitants were in profound sleep, and unalarmed until the enemy had broken open their doors and with uplifted tomahawks were surrounding their beds!—before they had time to rise, the savages began the perpetration of the most inhuman barbarities!—no language can express the cruelties which were committed—in less than one hour two hundred of the unfortunate inhabitants were slain and the whole village enwrapt in flames:—A detail of the cruelties committed by the barbarians cannot be read without horror.—They ravished, rifled, murdered and mutilated the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity!—pregnant women were ripped open and their infants cast into the flames or dashed against the posts of the doors!!—such monsters of barbarity ought certainly to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. A few of the inhabitants escaped, and in their shirts (in a severe and stormy night) fled to Albany—twenty-five of the fugitives in their flight perished with cold. The enemy after destroying the inhabitants killed all the horses and cattle which they could find, with the exception of about thirty of the former, which they loaded with their plunder and drove off.

When the news of the horrid massacre reached Albany, an universal fear and consternation seized the inhabitants—the country became panic struck; and many entertained thoughts of destroying the town and abandoning that part of the country to the enemy.

A second party of the enemy which Count FRONTENAC had detached from the main body at the three rivers (under command of SIEUR HARTEL, an officer of distinguished character in Canada) on the 18th February fell upon Salmon Falls (a plantation on the river which divides

New-Hampshire from the province of Maine)—the party consisted of about 70 men, more than half of whom were Indians; they commenced the attack at break of day, in three different places; and although the inhabitants were surprized, yet they fled to their arms and defended themselves with bravery which even their enemies applauded; but they were finally overpowered by numbers, and forty-three of them (men, women and children) fell victims to savage barbarity.

The depredations of the French and Indians filled the inhabitants of the western country with fear and alarm. —The Assembly of New-York conceived it necessary to make every exertion to prevent the settlement of the French at Albany—it was resolved that two companies of 100 men each should be raised and sent forward for that purpose. For the defence of the frontier towns in New-England, it was ordered that a constant watch should be kept in the several towns, and that all males (above 18 and under 60 years of age) should be held in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

On the 29th March, at a proposed meeting of Commissioners from New-York and New-England, a plan was proposed and adopted for invading Canada—800 men were ordered to be raised for the purpose—the quotas of the several colonies were fixed, and general rules adopted for the management of the army. A small vessel was sent express to England the beginning of April, carrying a representation of the exposed state of the colonies and the necessity of the reduction of Canada—a petition was also forwarded to his majesty for a supply of arms and ammunition, and a number of frigates to attack the enemy by water, while the colonel troops made an invasion by land. JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. was appointed major-general and commander in chief of the land army, and arrived with the troops under his com-

mand near the falls at the head of Wood Creek, early in the month of August.

When the army arrived at the place appointed for the rendezvous of the Indians, from the Five Nations (who had engaged to assist the English) instead of meeting with that powerful body which they expected and which the Indians had promised, there was no more than 70 warriors from the Mohawks and Oneidas!—When the general had advanced about 100 miles, he found that there were not canoes sufficient to transport one half the English across the lake—upon representing to the Indians the impossibility of the army's passing into Canada without a much greater number of canoes, they replied that it was then too late in the season to make canoes, as the bark would not peal—in short, they artfully evaded every proposal, and finally told the general and his officers that they looked too high and advised them only to attack Chambly, and the out settlements on this side of St. Lawrence—thus did these Indians (who a few years before had so harrassed all the French and Indians in Canada) exhibit the greatest proofs of cowardice!—the English finding it impossible to cross the lake with advantage, returned to Albany, and thus the expedition failed.

In the year 1693, Count FRONTENAC finding that he could not accomplish a peace with the Mohawks (who of all the Indians had been by far the most destructive to the settlements in Canada) determined on their destruction. He collected an army of about 700 French and Indians, and, having supplied them with every thing necessary for a winter campaign, sent them against the Mohawk castles.—They commenced their march from Montreal on the 15th January, 1693—after enduring incredible hardships, they fell in with the first castle about the 10th February—the Mohawks, were unprepared for



an attack, not having the least intimation of the approach of the Canadians—the enemy killed and captured about 50 of the Mohawks at this castle and then proceeded for the second, at which they were equally successful; a great part of the Mohawks were at Schenectady and the remainder perfectly secure;—when they arrived at the third castle they found about eighty warriors collected at a war-dance, as they designed the next day to go upon an enterprise against their enemies—a conflict ensued, in which the Canadians, after losing about thirty men, were victorious and the third castle was taken. The Canadians in their descent took near three hundred prisoners, principally women and children.—The brave Colonel SCAUYLER of Albany (receiving information of the approach of the enemy) at the head of a party of volunteers of about 400 English and Dutch, pursued them—on the 25th February he was joined by about 300 Indians, and with this force on the 29th fell in with the enemy, whom he found lodged in a fortified camp—the Canadians made three successive sallies upon the colonel, and were as often repulsed, he kept his ground, waiting for provisions and a reinforcement from Albany:—the enemy at length taking the advantage of a violent snow storm escaped and marched to Canada;—the day following, Capt. SIMS, with a reinforcement and a supply of provision arrived from Albany, and the day succeeding the colonel reassumed the pursuit; but the Canadians luckily finding a cake of ice across the north branch of Hudson river, made their escape: they were however so closely pursued by the English and Dutch that they could not prevent the escape of most of their prisoners, who all (with the exception of nine or ten) returned in safety to their country. Colonel SCHULYER lost 12 of his party, and had 19 wounded—according to the report of the captives the enemy lost 50 men, five of whom



were French officers, and two Indian guides, and had about 70 wounded. The Mohawks on their return found about 40 dead bodies of the enemy, which they scalped and devoured, indeed so great was their hunger !

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CHAP. VI.

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**WASHINGTON'S EXPEDITION,**  
 IN 1753—AND  
*DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK,*  
 BY THE INDIANS, IN 1755.

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IN 1753, the French and Indians began to make inroads on our western frontiers along the Ohio. Governor DINWIDDIE, of Virginia, was very desirous to get a letter of remonstrance to their commander in chief.—He had applied to several young gentlemen of his acquaintance, but they were all so deficient in courage that they could not be prevailed on for love or money, to venture out among the savages. Our beloved WASHINGTON happening to hear of it, instantly waited on his excellency, and offered his services, but not without being terribly afraid lest his want of a beard should go against him. However, the Governor was so charmed with his modesty and manly air, that he never asked him a syllable about his age, but after thanking him for “*a noble youth,*” and insisting on his taking a glass of wine with him, slipped a commission into his hand. The next day, accompanied by an interpreter and a couple of servants, he set out on his expedition, which was, from start to pole, as disagreeable and dangerous as any thing Hercules himself could have wished. Soaking rains, chilling blasts, roaring floods, pathless woods, and mountains clad in snows, opposed his course ; but opposed in vain. The glorious ambition to serve his country imparted an

animation to his nerves, which rendered him superior to all difficulties.

Returning homewards he was waylaid and shot at by a French Indian, and though the copper colored ruffian was not 15 steps distant when he fired at him, yet not even so much as the smell of lead passed on the clothes of our young hero. On his return to Virginia, it was found that he had executed his negotiations, both with the French and Indians, with such fidelity and judgment, that he received the heartiest thanks of the Governor and Council for the very important services he had done his country.

He was now (in the 20th year of his age) appointed major and adjutant-general of the Virginia forces. Soon after this, the Indians continuing their encroachments, orders were given by the English government, for the colonies to arm and unite in one confederacy: Virginia took the lead, and raised a regiment of four hundred men, at the head of which she placed her darling WASHINGTON.

With this handful of brave fellows, Col. WASHINGTON, not yet 23 years of age, boldly pushed out into the Indian country, and there for a considerable time, Hannibal-like, maintained the war against three times the number of French and Indians. At the Red-Stones he came up with a strong party of the enemy, whom he engaged and effectually defeated, after having killed and taken thirty-one men. From his prisoners he obtained undoubted intelligence, that the French forces on the Ohio consisted of upwards of a thousand regulars and many hundreds of Indians. But notwithstanding this disheartening advice, he still pressed on undauntedly against the enemy, and at a place called the Little Meadows, built a fort, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he waited, hourly and anxiously looking for succours

from New-York and Pennsylvania; but he looked in vain—nobody came to his assistance. Not long after this his small force, now reduced to three hundred men, were attacked by an army of 1100 French and Indians. Never did the true Virginian valor shine more gloriously than on this trying occasion.

To see three hundred young fellows—commanded by a smooth-faced boy—all unaccustomed to the terrors of war—far from home, and from all hopes of help—shut up in a dreary wilderness, and surrounded by four times their number of savage foes, and yet, without sign of fear, without thought of surrender preparing for mortal combat. Oh! it was a noble sight!—Scarcely since the days of Leonidas and his three hundred deathless Spartans had the sun beheld its equal. With hideous whoops and yells the enemy came on like a host of tygers. The woods, and rocks, and tall tree tops (as the Indians climbing to the tops of the trees, poured down their bullets into the fort) were in one continued blaze and crash of fire-arms. Nor were our young warriors idle, but animated by their gallant chief, plied their rifles with such spirit, that their little fort resembled a volcano in full blast, roaring and discharging thick sheets of liquid fire and of leaden deaths among their foes. For three glorious hours, Salamander like, enveloped in smoke and flame, they sustained the attack of the enemy's whole force, and laid two hundred of them dead on the spot!—Discouraged by such desperate resistance, the French general, the Count de VILLIERS sent in a flag to WASHINGTON, extolling his gallantry to the skies, and offering him the most honorable terms. It was stipulated that Col. WASHINGTON and his little band of heroes, should march away with all the honors of war, and carry with them their military stores and baggage.

In the Spring of 1755, WASHINGTON, while busied in

the highest military operations, was summoned to attend Gen. BRADDOCK, who in the month of February, arrived at Alexandria, with 2000 British troops. The Assembly of Virginia appointed 800 provincials to join him. The object of this army was to march through the country, by the way of Will's Creek, to fort Du Quesne (now Pittsburgh, or fort Pitt.) As no person was so well acquainted with the frontier country as WASHINGTON, and none stood so high in military fame, it was thought he would be infinitely serviceable to general BRADDOCK. At the request of the Governor and Council he cheerfully quitted his own command, to act as volunteer aid-de-camp to that very imprudent and unfortunate general.—The army near 3000 strong, marched from Alexandria and proceeded unmolested within a few miles of fort Pitt. On the morning of the day in which they expected to arrive, the provincial scouts discovered a large party of French and Indians lying in ambush. WASHINGTON, with his usual modesty, observed to Gen. BRADDOCK what sort of enemy he had now to deal with. An enemy who would not, like the Europeans, come forward to a fair contest in the field, but, concealed behind rocks and trees carry on a deadly warfare with their rifles. He concluded with begging that Gen. BRADDOCK would grant him the honor to let him place himself at the head of the Virginia riflemen, and fight them in their own way.—And it was generally thought that our young hero and his 800 hearts of hickory, would very easily have beaten them too, for they were not superior to the force, which (with only three hundred) he had handled so roughly a twelve month before. But Gen. BRADDOCK, who had all along treated the American officers and soldiers with infinite contempt, instead of following this truly salutary advice, swelled and reddened with most unmanly rage.—“High times, by G—d!” he exclaimed, strutting to and



fro, with arms a-kimbo, "High times! when a young  
 buckskin can teach a British general how to fight!"—  
 WASHINGTON withdrew, biting his lips with grief and in-  
 dignation, to think what numbers of brave fellows would  
 draw short breath that day, through the pride and obsti-  
 nacy of one epauletted fool. The troops were ordered  
 to *form* and advance in *columns* through the woods!!!—  
 In a little time the ruin which WASHINGTON had pre-  
 dicted ensued. This poor devoted army, pushed on by  
 their mad-cap general, fell into the fatal snare which was  
 laid for them. All at once a thousand rifles began the  
 work of death. The ground was instantly covered with  
 the dying and the dead. The British troops, thus slaugh-  
 tered by hundreds, and by an enemy whom they could  
 not see, were thrown irrecoverably into panic and con-  
 fusion, and in a few minutes their haughty general with  
 1200 of his brave but unfortunate countrymen, bit the  
 ground. Poor BRADDOCK closed the tragedy with great  
 decency. He was mortally wounded in the beginning  
 of the action, and WASHINGTON had him placed in a  
 cart ready for retreat. Close on the left, where the  
 weight of the French and Indian fire principally fell,  
 WASHINGTON and his Virginia riflemen, dressed in blue,  
 sustained the shock. At every discharge of their rifles  
 the wounded general cried out, "*O my brave Virginia  
 blues! Would to God I could live to reward you for such  
 gallantry.*" But he died. WASHINGTON buried him in  
 the road, and to save him from discovery and the scalp-  
 ing knife, ordered the waggons on their retreat to drive  
 over his grave!—O God! what is man? Even a thing of  
 nought!!

Amidst all this fearful consternation and carnage,  
 amidst all the uproar and horrors of a rout, rendered still  
 more dreadful by the groans of the dying, the screams of  
 the wounded, the piercing shrieks of the women, and the

galls of the furious assaulting savages; WASHINGTON, calm and self-collected, rallied his faithful riflemen, led them on to the charge, killed numbers of the enemy who were rushing on with tomahawks, checked their pursuit, and brought off the shattered remains of the British army.

With respect to our beloved WASHINGTON, we cannot but mention here two very extraordinary speeches, that were uttered about him at this time, and which, as things have turned out, look a good deal like prophecies. A famous Indian warrior who assisted in the defeat of BRADDOCK, was often heard to swear that WASHINGTON *was not born to be killed by a bullet*, "*for*," continued he, "*I had 17 fair fires at him with my rifle, and, after all, I could not bring him to the ground*,"—And, indeed, whoever considers that a good rifle, levelled by a proper marksman, hardly ever misses its aim, will readily enough conclude with this unlettered savage, that some invisible hand must have turned aside his bullets.

The Rev. Mr. DAVIES, in a sermon occasioned by Gen. BRADDOCK'S defeat, has these remarkable words—"*I beg leave to point the attention of the public to that heroic youth, Col. GEORGE WASHINGTON, whom I cannot but hope providence has preserved for some great service to this Country.*"

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## CHAP. VII.

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### ADVENTURES OF CAPT. DANIEL BOON, COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS WITH THE INDIANS, ON THE OHIO, FROM 1769 TO 1782.

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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"IT was on the first of May, 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and

peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river in North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with JOHN FINLEY, JOHN STUART, JOSEPH HOLDEN, JAMES MONAY and WILLIAM COOL.

On the 7th June, after travelling in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red river, where JOHN FINLEY had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on their settlements, browsing on leaves of the cane, or crossing the herbage on these extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing.—In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with great success until December.

On the 22d December, JOHN STUART and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully colored, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavored; and we were favored with numberless animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake and made us prisoners. The Indians plundered us and kept us in confinement seven



days. During this we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious: but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion.—We seized this favorable opportunity and departed, directing our course toward our old camp, but found it plundered and our company destroyed or dispersed.

About this time, as my brother with another adventurer who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, they accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness, gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, JOHN STUART, was killed by the savages, and the man who came with my brother (while on a private excursion) was soon after attacked and killed by the wolves. We were now in a dangerous and helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, among savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Although many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter storms. We met with no disturbance during the winter. On the 1st of May, 1770, my brother returned home for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or a dog.—I passed a few days uncomfortably—the idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have disposed me to melancholy if I had further indulged the thought.



One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of the day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking around with astonishing delight beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the line of a buck which I had killed a few hours before. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. At a distance I frequently heard the hideous yells of savages.—My excursion had fatigued my body and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleasing as the first; after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes to avoid the savages, who I believe frequently visited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my absence. No populous city with all its varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found in this country.

Until the 27th July, I spent the time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment at our old camp. Soon after we left the place and proceed-

off to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers.

In March, 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucky which I esteemed a second Paradise.

On my return I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us, and on the 25th September, 1773, we took leave of our friends and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined us in Powell's Valley, which is 150 miles from the new settled parts of Kentucky ;—but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity.

On the 10th October the rear of our company was attacked by a party of Indians ; who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my oldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle and brought us into extreme difficulty—we returned forty miles to the settlement on Clinch river. We had passed over two mountains, Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a southwest and northeast direction, are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over them nature hath formed passes less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs are so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without horror.

Until the 6th June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clinch, when I and another person were solicited by Governor DUNMORE, of Virginia, to conduct a num-

ber of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of 800 miles, and took us sixty-two days.

On my return, Gov. DUKMOSE gave me the command of three garrisons during the campaign against the Shawanese. In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south side of Kentucky river. After this I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements through the wilderness to Kentucky.

Having collected a number of enterprising men well armed, I soon began this work—we proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two and wounded two more of our party. This was on the 22d March, 1775—two days after we were again attacked by them, when we had two more killed and three wounded. After this we proceeded on to Kentucky river without further opposition.

On the 1st April we begun to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt lick, sixty yards from the river on the south side. On the 4th the Indians killed one of our men. On the 14th June, having compleated the fort, I returned to my family on the Clinch, and whom I soon after removed to the fort—my wife and daughter were supposed to be the first white women that ever stood upon the banks of Kentucky river.

On the 24th December the Indians killed one of our men and wounded another; and on the 15th Jcly, 1776, they took my daughter prisoner—I immediately pursued them with eight men, and on the 16th overtook and engaged them, I killed two of them and recovered my daughter.

The Indians having divided themselves into several parties, attacked on one day all our infant settlements

and forts, doing a great deal of damage—the husbandmen were ambushed and unexpectedly attacked while toiling in the field. They continued this kind of warfare until the 15th April 1777, when nearly 100 of them attacked the village of Boonsborough, and killed a number of its inhabitants. On the 19th Colonel LOGAN's fort was attacked by 200 Indians—there were only 15 men in the fort, of whom the enemy killed two and wounded one.

On the 20th August, Col. BOWMAN arrived with 100 men from Virginia, with which additional force we had almost daily skirmishes with the Indians, who began now to learn the superiority of the "*long knife*," as they termed the Virginians; being out-generated in almost every action. Our affairs began now to wear a better aspect, the Indians no longer daring to face us in open field, but sought private opportunities to destroy us.

On the 7th February, 1778, while on a hunting excursion, alone, I met a party of 102 Indians, and 2 Frenchmen, marching to attack Boonsborough—they pursued and took me prisoner, and conveyed me to Old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on little Miami, where we arrived on the 18th February, after an uncomfortable journey.—On the 10th March I was conducted to Detroit, and while there was treated with great humanity by Governor HAMILTON, the British commander at that port, and Intendant for Indian affairs.

The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused 100*l.* sterling offered them by the Governor, if they would consent to leave me with him, that he might be enabled to liberate me on my parole. Several English gentlemen then at Detroit, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding



that I never expected it would be in my power to recompence such unmerited generosity.

On the 10th April the Indians returned with me to Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the 25th.—This was a long and fatiguing march, although through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe I spent my time as comfortable as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and contented as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting, for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me, and when the reverse happened, of envy.—The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided giving suspicion. I continued at Chelicothe until the first day of June, when I was taken to the salt springs on Sciotoha, and there employed ten days in the manufacturing of salt. During this time I hunted with my indian masters, and found the land for a great extent about this river to exceed the soil of Kentucky.

On my return to Chelicothe, 150 of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough; they were painted and armed in a frightful manner. This alarmed me and I determined to escape.

On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of 160 miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortress in a bad state, but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners escaped after me, brought advice that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off their expedition for 3 weeks.

About August 1st, I set out with 19 men to surprize Point Creek Town on Sciatha, within four miles of which we fell in with 40 Indians going against Boonsborough—we attacked them and they soon gave way without any loss on our part—the enemy had one killed and two wounded—we took three horses and all their baggage.—The Indians having evacuated their town, and gone altogether against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the 6th, and on the 7th arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the 8th, the Indian army, consisting of 444 men, under the command of Capt. DUQUESNE, and eleven other Frenchmen and their own chiefs, arrived and summoned the fort to surrender. I requested two days consideration, which was granted; During this we brought in through the posterns all the horses and other cattle we could collect.

On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort, while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians told us it was

their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners, but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe, except one man who was wounded by a heavy fire from the enemy.

The savages began now to undermine the fort, beginning at the water mark of Kentucky river, which is 60 yards from the fort; this we discovered by the water being made muddy by the clay—we countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterraneous passage. The enemy discovering this by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted. On the 20th August they raised the siege during which we had two men killed and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. The loss of the enemy was 37 killed, and a much larger number wounded. We picked up 125lbs. of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort.

In July, 1779, during my absence, Col. BOWMAN, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chelicothe. He arrived undiscovered, a battle ensued, which lasted until ten in the morning, when Col. BOWMAN retreated 30 miles. The Indians collected all their strength and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to Col. BOWMAN's advantage. Col. HARROD proposed to mount a number of horses and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two engagements we had nine men killed and one wounded. Enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps were taken.

June 22d, 1780, 500 Indians and Canadians under Col. BIRD, attacked RIDDLE's and MARTIN's station, and the Forks of Licking river, with six pieces of artillery; they

took all the inhabitants captive, and killed one man and two women, loaded the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed in the journey were tomahawked.

The hostile disposition of the savages, caused General CLARK, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the great Miami, which he attacked with great success, took seventy scalps, and reduced the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucky with my family; for during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father's house in North-Carolina.

On the 6th of October, 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks, and on our return, he was shot by a party of Indians, they followed me by scent of a dog, which I shot and escaped. The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucky, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on Buffalo's flesh.

In spring, 1782, the Indians harrassed us. In May, they ravished, killed and scalped a woman and her two daughters near ASHTON's station, and took a negro prisoner. Capt. ASHTON pursued them with 25 men, and in an engagement which lasted two hours, his party were obliged to retreat, having 8 killed and 4 mortally wounded; their brave commander fell in the action.

August 10th, two boys were carried off from Major Hox's station.—Capt. HOLDER pursued the enemy with 17 men, who were also defeated, with the loss of 7 killed and 2 wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country and de-



stroyed the whites as opportunity presented. In a field near Lexington, an Indian shot a man and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort and fell dead upon the ground. All the Indian nations were now united against us.

August 15th, 500 Indians and Canadians came against BRIAT's station, five miles from Lexington, they assaulted the fort and killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed they retired the third day, having about 80 killed, their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and nine wounded.

August 18th, Colonels TODD and TRIGG, Major HARLAND and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks, to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking River, about 43 miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th. The savages observing us, gave way, and we ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings (having greatly the advantage in situation) they formed their line of battle from one end of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The engagement was close and warm for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 67 men, 7 of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels TODD and TRIGG, Major HARLAND, and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards informed, that the Indians, on numbering their dead, finding that they had four more killed than we, four of our people they had taken were given up to their young warriors, to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

On our retreat we were met by Col. LOGAN, who was hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men,

This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle; The enemy said one more fire from us would have made them give way.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, without great sorrow. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled; some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrid condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

When General CLARK, at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages, we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and we should have obtained a great victory, had not some of them met us when about two hundred poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chelicothe, Peccaway, New Chelicothe, and Wills-Town; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits; and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners and fifteen scalps, and lost only four

men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves. This campaign damped the enemy, yet they made secret incursions.

In October a party attacked Crab Orchard, and one of them being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved too strong for him, and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe—whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rusty gun barrel through the crevices, the savages immediately went off.

From that time till the happy return of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Soon after this the Indians desired peace.

Two darling sons and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me 40 valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness.

DANIEL BOON.

*Fayette County, Kentucky.*

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## CHAP. VIII.

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EXPEDITION AND DEFEAT OF GEN. HARMER,  
BY THE INDIANS, IN 1790.

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ALTHOUGH a peace was happily effected between the two contending parties, Great-Britain and A-

merica, in 1783, yet the Savages, who had been persuaded to take a part with the former were unwilling to bury the bloody hatchet—they had not sufficiently bathed that destructive weapon in the blood of the Americans—without any pretext whatever, they continued to exercise toward them the most wanton acts of barbarity. It appeared from respectable evidence, that from the year 1783, until the month of October 1790, the time the United States commenced offensive operations against the said Indians, that, on the Ohio, and the frontiers on the south side thereof, they killed, wounded and took prisoners, about one thousand five hundred men, women and children, besides carrying off upwards of two thousand horses, and other property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars.

The particulars of many of the instances of barbarity exercised upon the prisoners, of different ages, and sexes, although supported by indisputable evidence, are of too shocking a nature to be presented to the public—it is sufficient here to observe that the scalping knife and tomahawk, were the mildest instruments of death. That in some cases torture by fire, and other execrable means were used.

But the outrages which were committed upon the frontier inhabitants, were not the only injuries that were sustained; repeated attacks upon detachments of the troops of the United States, were at different times made. The following from its peculiar enormity deserves recital.—In April 1790, Maj. DOUGHTY (in service of the United States) was ordered to the friendly Chicasaws on public business. He performed this duty in a boat, having with him a party of fifteen men. While ascending the Tennessee river, he was met by a party of forty Indians, in four canoes, consisting principally of Shawanese and out-cast Cherokees.—They approached under



a white flag, the well known emblem of peace. They came on board the Major's boat, received his presents, continued with him nearly an hour, and then departed in the most friendly manner.—But, they had scarcely cleared his oars before they poured in a fire upon his crew, which was returned as soon as circumstances would permit, and a most unequal combat was sustained for several hours, when they abandoned their design, but not until they had killed and wounded eleven out of fifteen of the boat's crew.

All overtures of peace failing, and the depredations still continuing, an attempt at coercion became indispensable; accordingly, on the 30th September, 1790, the President, by and with the consent and advice of the Congress of the United States, despatched Gen. HARMER, with 320 Federal troops and 1133 militia, under his command, to attack and destroy their principal villages.

The troops after seventeen days march from Miami, reached the great Miami village, without any other molestation than that of having a number of their pack horses stolen. On their arrival they found the village deserted, and all the valuable buildings in flames, set on fire by the Indians. After a short tarry, they proceeded to the neighboring villages, without molestation, and destroyed five of them, and a large quantity of corn, computed at fifteen thousand bushels, which they found buried in different places; and very large quantities of vegetables of every kind.

The first opposition that was met with a party of about 150 Kentucky militia, and 30 regular troops, all under the command of Col. HARDING, of Kentucky, were detached from the main body lying in the great Miami village, to pursue the trail of a party of Indians, which had the day before been discovered. After a pursuit of about six miles, they came up with, and were attacked on sur-

prize by a body of Indians who were concealed in the thickets on every side of a large plain ; and on the first onset the militia without exchanging a single shot, made a most precipitate retreat and left the regular troops to stand the whole charge of the Indians ; the conflict was short and bloody, the troops were soon overpowered by numbers, and all fell except two officers, and two or three privates, after defending themselves at their bayonet points, with the greatest possible obstinacy. Ensign HARTSHORN was one of the officers who providentially escaped, and his escape appeared to depend more on a lucky circumstance of faltering over a log in his retreat, and by that means screening himself from the eye of his pursuers, than from any other circumstance. Captain ARMSTRONG, who commanded the party, likewise made his escape, by plunging himself into a pound or swamp up to his neck, within two hundred yards of the field of action, where he remained the whole night a spectator to the horrid scene of the war dance performed over the dead and wounded bodies of the poor soldiers that had fallen the preceding day ; where their shrieks, mixed with the horrid yells of the savages, rendered his situation shocking.

After this, some few skirmishes succeeded, but nothing material, until the second capital action, which happened two days after the army left the Miami village— at ten miles distance from the town, the General ordered a halt, and detached from four to five hundred militia, and about sixty regular soldiers, under the command of Major WYLLS and Colonel HARDING, who were ordered to march back to the town. On their first entrance there appeared a small body of Indians, who immediately fled at the first onset, and by that means decoyed the whole body of the militia, by making their flight in different directions, and encouraging the militia to pursue ;

by this stratagem the few regular troops were left alone, and the Indians had effected their design, for the moment they found the small handful of regular troops detached from the main body of the militia, they commenced the attack with their whole force, excepting the flying parties that had divided the militia; and although they soon found some part of the militia returning on their backs, pursued their object of routing and destroying the troops, as the only sure plan of success; which after a most bloody conflict on each side, they effected.

Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head. The defeat of the troops was complete, the dead and wounded were left on the field of action, in possession of the savages.

The following is a copy of the official return of the killed and wounded in the expedition:—

*Killed of the Federal Troops:*

1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 73 rank and file—total 75—  
Wounded—3 rank and file.

*Killed of the Militia.*

1 Major, 3 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 98 rank and file—total 108—Wounded—2 Lieutenants, 4 Ensign, 25 rank and file—total—28.

The regular troops all to nine, including two commissioned officers, were killed—among the slain was Major WYLLYS, and a number of brave and valuable soldiers. The Indians, it appeared, from some cause, did not think it prudent to pursue their successes from the field of ac-

tion, as most of the troops that were not killed or badly wounded, made their escape, which, they could not have effected had the enemy pursued with their usual fury.

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CHAP. IX.

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EXPEDITIONS OF GENERAL'S SCOTT AND  
WILKINSON,  
*IN MAY AND AUGUST, 1791.*

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GEN. SCOTT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

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"S I R,

"IN prosecution of the enterprise, I marched (with 850 troops under my command) four miles from the banks of the Ohio on the 23d May, and on the 24th I resumed my march, and pushed forward with the utmost industry, directing my route to Ouiattannan, in the best manner my guides and information enabled me, though I found myself greatly deficient in both.

"By the 31st, I had marched one hundred and thirty-five miles, over a country cut by four large branches of White River, and many smaller streams with steep muddy banks : During this march, I traversed a country alternately interspersed with the most luxurious soil, and deep clayey bogs from one to five miles wide, rendered almost impervious by brush and briars. Rain fell in torrents every day, with frequent blasts of wind and thunder storms. These obstacles impeded my progress, wore down my horses, and destroyed my provisions.

"On the morning of the 1st instant as the army entered an extensive prairie, I perceived an Indian on horseback a few miles to the right : I immediately made a de-



achment to intercept him, but he escaped. Finding myself discovered, I determined to advance with all the rapidity my circumstances would permit, rather with the hope than the expectation of reaching the object sought that day ; for my guides were strangers to the country which I occupied. At 1 o'clock, having marched by computation one hundred and fifty-five miles from the Ohio, as I penetrated a grove which bordered on an extensive prairie, I discovered two small villages to my left, at two and four miles distance.

" My guides now recognised the ground and informed me that the main town was four or five miles in front, behind a point of wood which jutted into the prairie. I immediately detached Col. JOHN HARDIN, with 60 mounted infantry, and a troop of light horse under Captain M'COY, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body in order of battle toward the town, the smoke of which was discernable. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town ; for instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found in the low ground bordering on the Wabash, on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Capt. PRICE was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

" When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel Commandant WILKINSON to rush forward with the first battalion ; the order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked : And regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they in a few min-

ates, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded.

"The enemy still kept possession of the Kickapoo town. I determined to dislodge them, and for the purpose ordered captain's KING's and LOGSDON's companies to march down the river below the town and cross under the conduct of Major BARBER. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe.— This movement was unobserved, and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought me that Col. HARDIN was incumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left, than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Capt. BROWN with his company to support the Colonel; but the distance being six miles, before the captain arrived the business was done, and Col. HARDIN joined me little before sunset, having killed six warriors and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain BULL, the warrior who discovered me in the morning had gained the main town and given the alarm a short time before me; but the villages to the left were uninformed of my approach and had no retreat. The next morning I determined to detach my Lieut. Col. Commandant with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Kethlipecanunk, at the mouth of the Eel river, eighteen miles from my camp, and on the west side of Wabash. But on examination I discovered my men and horses to be crippled and worn down by a long laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day; that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in capacity to undertake the enterprise and they prepared to march on foot.

"Col. WILKINSON marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp

the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlements of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

"The following is Col. WILKINSON's report respecting the enterprize:—

"SIR—The detachment under my command, destined to attack the village Kethlipecanunk, was put in motion at half after five o'clock last evening. Knowing that an enemy whose chief dependence is in his dexterity as a marksman, and alertness in covering himself behind trees, stumps, and other impediments to fair sight, would not hazard an action in the night, I determined to push my march until I approached the vicinity of the villages where I knew the country to be champaign.—I gained my point without a halt, twenty minutes before 11 o'clock; lay upon my arms until 4 o'clock, and half an hour after assaulted the town at all quarters. The enemy was vigilant, gave way on my approach, and in canoes crossed Eel creek, which washed the northeast part of the town.—The creek was not fordable. My corps dashed forward with the impetuosity becoming volunteers, and were saluted by the enemy with a brisk fire from the opposite side of the creek. Dauntless they rushed on to the water's edge, and finding the river impassible, returned a volley, which so galled and disconcerted their antagonists, that they threw away their fire without effect. In five minutes the Indians were driven from their covering, and fled with precipitation. I have three men slightly wounded. At half past five the town was in flames, and at six o'clock I commenced my retreat.

"I am Sir, yours, &c.

"JAMES WILKINSON.

"*Brigadier-General Scott.*"

"Many of the inhabitants of Kithlipecanunk were French, and lived in a state of civilization ;—misunderstanding the object of a white flag, which appeared on an eminence opposite to me in the afternoon of the first, I liberated an aged squaw, and sent with her a message to the savages, that if they would come in and surrender, their towns should be spared, and they should receive good treatment. [It was afterwards found that this white flag was not intended as a signal of parley, but was placed there to mark the spot where a person of distinction among the Indians, who had died some time before, was interred.] On the 4th, I determined to discharge 16 of the weakest and most infirm of my prisoners with a talk to the Wabash tribes, a copy of which follows. My motives to this measure were, to rid the army of a heavy incumbrance, to gratify the impulses of humanity, to increase the panick my operations had produced, and by distracting the council of the enemy, to favor the views of government.

"On the same day, after having burned the towns and adjacent villages, and destroyed the growing corn and pulse, I began my march for the rapids of Ohio, where I arrived the 14th, without the loss of a single man by the enemy, and five only wounded, having killed thirty-two, chiefly warriors of size and figure, and taken fifty-eight prisoners."

*To the various tribes of the Peankashaws, and all the nations of Red People, living on the waters of the Wabash River.*

"THE Sovereign Council of the Thirteen United States, have long patiently borne your depredations against their settlements on this side of the great mountains, in hope that you would see your error, and correct it, by entering into bonds of amity and lasting peace. Moved by compassion, and pitying your misguided councils, they have not unfrequently addressed you on this sub-



ject, but without effect: At length their patience is exhausted, and they have stretched forth the arm of power against you. Their mighty sons and chief warriors have at length taken up the hatchet, they have penetrated far into your country, to meet your warriors, and punish them for their transgressions. But you fled before them and decline the battle, leaving your wives and children to their mercy. They have destroyed your old town, Ouiattanu, and the neighboring villages, and have taken many prisoners. Resting here two days, to give you time to collect your strength, they have proceeded to your town of Kethlipecanunk; but you again fled before them; and that great town has been destroyed. After giving you this evidence of their power, they have stopped their hands, because they are as merciful as strong, and they again indulge the hope, that you will come to a sense of your true interest, and determine to make a lasting peace with them and all their children forever. The United States have no desire to destroy the red people, although they have the power to do it; but should you decline this invitation, and pursue your unprovoked hostilities, their strength will again be exerted against you, your warriors will be slaughtered, your wives and children carried into captivity, and you may be assured, that those who escape the fury of our mighty chiefs, shall find no resting place on this side the Great Lakes. The warriors of the United States wish not to distress or destroy women and children, or old men, and although policy obliges them to retain some in captivity, yet compassion and humanity have induced them to set others at liberty, who will deliver you this talk. Those who are carried off will be left in the care of our great chief and warrior Gen. ST. CLAIR, near the mouth of the Miami and opposite to the Licking River, where they will be treated with humanity and tenderness; if you wish to recover

them, repair to that place by the first day of July next : determine with true hearts to bury the hatchet and smoke the pipe of peace, they will then be restored to you, and you may again set down in security at your old towns, and live in peace and happiness, unmolested by the people of the United States, who will become your friends and protectors, and will be ready to furnish you with all the necessaries you may require. But should you foolishly persist in your warfare, the sons of war will be let loose against you, and the hatchet will never be buried until your country is desolated, and your people humbled to the dust."

(Signed) CHARLES SCOTT, *Brig. Gen.*

## GENERAL WILKINSON'S EXPEDITION.

GENERAL WILKINSON TO GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR.

"SIR,

HAVING carried into complete effect the enterprize which you were pleased to direct against L'An-guille, and having done the savages every other damage on the Wabash, to which I conceived my force adequate, I embrace the first moment's recess from active duty to detail to your Excellency the operations of the expedition intrusted to my conduct.

I left the neighborhood of Fort-Washington on the first inst. at one o'clock, and agreeable to my original plan, feinted boldly at the Miami villages, by the most direct course the nature of the ground, over which I had to march, would permit. I persevered in this plan until the morning of the 4th inst. and thereby avoided the hunting ground of the enemy, and the paths which led direct from White River to the Wabash, leaving the

head waters of the first to my left; I then being about seventy miles advanced of Fort Washington, turned north-west. I made no discovery until the 5th, about 9 o'clock, A. M. when I crossed three much frequented paths within two miles of each other, and all bearing east of north; my guides were urgent for me to follow these paths, which betrayed their ignorance of the country, and convinced me I had to depend on my own judgment only. In the afternoon of that day, I was obliged to cross a deep bog, which injured several of my horses exceedingly, and a few miles beyond I struck a path bearing north by west, marked by the recent footsteps of five or six savages. My guides renewed their application to me to follow this path, but I pursued my own course. I had not got clear of my encampment, next morning, before my advance reported an impassable bog, in my front, extending several miles on either hand, and the guides asserted that the whole country to the Wabash was cut by such bogs, and that it would be impossible for me to proceed unless I followed the Indian paths, which avoided these bogs, or led through them at places where they were least difficult. Although I paid little regard to this information, as delay was dangerous, and every thing depended on the preservation of my horses, I determined to return to the right, and fell into the path I had passed the evening before, which varied in its course from N. by W. to N. E. The country had now become pondy, in every direction, I therefore resolved to pursue this path until noon, in the hope that it would conduct me to better ground, or to some devious trace which might lead to the object sought.

At 7 o'clock I crossed the east branch of Calumet river, about 40 yards wide, and about noon my advance guard fired on a small party of warriors and took a prisoner, the rest run off to the eastward. I halted about a

mile beyond the spot where this affair happened, and on examining the prisoner found him to be a Delaware, living near the scite of the late Miami village, which he informed was about thirty miles distant; I immediately retrograded four miles, and filed off by the right over some rising ground, which I had observed between the east branch of the Calmut river and a creek four or five miles advance of it, taking my course N. 60 W. This measure fortunately extricated me from the bogs and ponds, and soon placed me on a firm ground; late in the afternoon I crossed one path running from N. to S. and shortly after fell in with another varying from N. W. to N. I pursued this about two miles, when I encamped—but finding it still inclining northward, I determined to abandon it in the morning. I resumed my march on the 6th at 4 o'clock, the Calumet being to the westward of me I was fearful I should strike the Wabash too high up, and perhaps fall in with the small town, which you mentioned to me at the mouth of the former river. I therefore steered a due west course, and at 6 o'clock A. M. crossed a road much used both by horse and foot, bearing due north. I now knew that I was near a Shawanese village, generally supposed to be on the waters of White river, but actually on the waters of the Calmut, and was sensible that every thing depended on the celerity and silence of my movements, as my real object had become manifest, I therefore pushed my march vigorously, leaving an officer and 20 men in ambush to watch the road, in order to intercept or bear off any party of the enemy which might casually be passing that way, and thereby prevent as long as possible the discovery of my real intentions.

At 8 o'clock I crossed Calmut river, now 80 yards wide, and running down N. N. W. I was now sensible from my reckoning compared with my own observations,



During the late expedition under Gen. Scott, and the information received from your Excellency and others, that I could not be very far from L'Anguille. The party left at the road, soon fell in with four warriors encamped half a mile from the right of my line of march, killed one and drove off the others to the northward. My situation had now become extremely critical, the whole country to the north being in alarm, which made me greatly anxious to continue my march during the night, but I had no path to direct me, and it was impossible for me to keep my course, or for horsemen to march through a thick swampy country in utter darkness. I quitted my camp on the 7th, as soon as I could see my way, crossed one path at three miles distance, bearing N. E. and at seven miles fell into another very much used, bearing N. W. by N. which I at once adopted, as the direct route of my object, and pushed forward with the utmost despatch. I halted at 12 o'clock to refresh the horses, and examine the men's arms and ammunition; marched again at half after one, and at 15 minutes before five I struck the Wabash, at one and an half leagues above the mouth of Eel river, being the very spot for which I had aimed from the commencement of my march. I crossed the river and following the path at N. by E. course, at the distance of two and an half miles, my reconnoitring party announced Eel river in front, and the town on the opposite bank. I dismounted, ran forward, and examined the situation of the town as far as was practicable without exposing myself, but the whole face of the country from the Wabash to the margin of Eel river, being a continued thicket of brambles, black jacks, weeds and shrubs, of various kinds, it was impossible for me to get a satisfactory view without endangering a discovery. I immediately determined to post two companies near the bank of the ri-

opposite to the town, and above the ground I then occupied to make a detour with Major CALDWELL, and the second battalion, until I fell into the Miami trace, and by that rout to cross the river above, and gain the rear of the town, and to leave directions with Maj. M'DOWELL, who commanded the first battalion, to lie perdue until I commenced the attack, then to dash through the river with his corps and the advanced guard, and assault the houses in front and upon the left.

In the moment I was about to put this arrangement into execution, word was brought me that the enemy had taken the alarm and were flying.—I instantly ordered a general charge, which was obeyed with alacrity, the men forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity.—The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance.—Six warriors and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child were killed—thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released—with the loss of two men killed, and one wounded. I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven shrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plumb and hazle.—Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped; expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up or buried.—Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio; the head chief with all the prisoners and a number of families were out, digging a root, which they substitute in the place of the potatoe, and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition.—This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the

squaws informed me was stored about two miles from town. I detached Major CALDWELL in quest of it, but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river.—I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted my young warriors, squaws and children in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child with a short talk (which will be found annexed) I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie.—I felt my prisoners a vast incumbrance, but I was not in force to justify a detachment, having barely 523 rank and file, and being then in the bosom of the Ouiattanou country, one hundred and eighty miles removed from succour, and not more than one and a half days forced march from the Pattawamees, Shawanese and Delawares.

Not being able to discover any path in the direct course to the Kickapoo town, I marched by the road leading to Tippecanoe, in the hope of finding some diverging trace which might favor my design.—I encamped that evening about six miles from Kenapacomeque, the Indian name for the town I had destroyed, and marched next morning at four o'clock.—My course continued west till about nine o'clock, when I turned to the northwest on a small hunting path, and at a short distance I launched into the boundless praries of the west, with the intention to pursue that course, until I should strike a road which leads from the Pattawamees of Lake Michigan, immediately to the town I sought. With this view I pushed forward, through bog after bog, to the saddle skirts in mud and water, and after persevering for eight hours, I found myself environed on all sides with morasses which forbade my advancing, and at the same time rendered it difficult for me to extricate my little at-



my. The way by which we had entered was so much heat and softened by the horses, that it was almost impossible to return by that route, and my guides pronounced the morass in front impassable.—A chain of thin groves extending in the direction to the Wabash, at this time presented to my left, it was necessary I should gain these groves, and for this purpose I dismounted, went forward, and leading my horse through a bog to the arm-pits in mud and water, with difficulty and fatigue I accomplished my object, and changed my course to S: by W. I regained the Tippecanoe road at 5 o'clock, and encamped on it at 7 o'clock, after a march of thirty miles, which broke down several of my horses.

I am the more minute in detailing the occurrences of this day because they produced the most unfavorable effect. I was in motion at four next morning, and at eight o'clock my advanced guard made some discoveries, which induced me to believe we were near an Indian village. I immediately pushed that body forward in a trot, and followed with Major CALDWELL, and the 2nd battalion, leaving Major M'DOWELL to take charge of the prisoners. I reached Tippecanoe at 12 o'clock, which had been occupied by the enemy, who watched my motions and abandoned the place that morning. After the destruction of this town in June last, the enemy had returned and cultivated their corn and pulse, which I found in high perfection and in much greater quantity than at L'Anguille. To refresh my horses and give time to cut down the corn, I determined to halt until the next morning, and then resume my march to the Kickapoo town in the prairie, by the road which leads from Ouiattanon to that place. In the course of the day I had discovered some murmurings and discontent among the men, which I found on enquiry to proceed from their reluctance to advance into the enemy's country ; this



induced me to call for a state of the horses and provisions, when to my great mortification 270 horses were returned lame and tired, with barely five day's provision for the men.

Under these circumstances I was compelled to abandon my designs upon the Kickapoos of the prairie, and with a degree of anguish not to be comprehended but by those who have experienced similar disappointments; I marched forward to a town of the same nation, situate about three leagues west of Ouittanon—as I advanced to the town, the enemy made some shew of fighting me, but vanished at my approach. I destroyed this town, consisting of thirty houses, with a considerable quantity of corn in the milk, and the same day I moved on to Ouittanon, where I forded the Wabash, and proceeded to the site of the villages on the margin of the prairie where I encamped at seven o'clock. At this town and the village destroyed by Gen. Scott in June, we found the corn had been re-planted, and was now in high cultivation, several fields being well ploughed, all which we destroyed. On the 12th, I resumed my march, and falling into Gen. Scott's return trace, I arrived without material accident at the rapids of the Ohio, on the 21st inst. after a march, by accurate computation, of 451 miles from Fort Washington.

The services which I have been able to render fall short of my wishes, my intention and expectation—but, Sir, when you reflect on the causes which checked my career, and blasted my designs, I flatter myself you will believe every thing has been done which could be done in my circumstances; I have destroyed the chief town of the Ouittanon nation, and made prisoners the sons and sisters of the king; I have burnt a respectable Kickapoo village, and cut down at least 430 acres of corn, chiefly in the milk. The Ouittanons left without horses, home

or provision, must cease to war, and will find active employ to subvert their squaws and children during the impending winter.

Should these services secure to the country which I immediately represented, and the corps which I had the honor to command, the favorable consideration of government, I shall infer the approbation of my own conduct, which, added to a consciousness of having done my duty, will constitute the richest reward I can enjoy.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be your Excellency's obedient and most humble servant.

JAMES WILKINSON:

Gov. St. Clair:

*A Talk from Col. WILKINSON, to the Indian Natives living on the river Wabash.*

"THE arms of the United States are again exerted against you, and again your towns are in flames, and your wives and children made captives—again you are cautioned to listen to the voice of reason, to sue for peace, and submit to the protection of the United States, who are willing to become your friends and fathers; but, at the same time, are determined to punish you for every injury you may offer to their children. Regard not those evil counsellors, who, to secure to themselves the benefits of your trade, advise you to measures which involve you, your women and children, in trouble and distress. The United States wish to give you peace; because it is good in the eyes of the Great Spirit, that all his children should unite and live like brothers; but if you foolishly prefer war, their warriors are ready to meet you in battle, and will not be the first to lay down the hatchet. You may find your squaws and your children

under the protection of our great chief and warrior General ST. CLAIR, at Fort Washington; to him you will make all applications for an exchange of prisoners, or for peace.

JAMES WILKINSON."

CHAP. X.

DEFEAT OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR,  
BY THE INDIANS, 1791.

GEN. ST. CLAIR TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

"Fort Washington, Nov. 9, 1791,

"SIR,

"YESTERDAY afternoon the remains of the army under my command got back to this place, and I have now the painful task to give an account of a warm, and as unfortunate an action as almost any that has been fought, in which every corps was engaged and worsted, except the first regiment, that had been detached upon a service I had the honor to inform you of in my last despatch, and had not joined me.

On the 3d inst. the army had reached a creek about twelve yards wide running to the southward of west, which I believe to have been the river St. Mary, that empties into the Miami of the lake, arrived at the village about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having marched near 9 miles, and were immediately encamped upon a very commanding piece of ground in two lines, having the above mentioned creek in front, the right wing composed of BUTLER'S, CLARKE'S, and PATTERSON'S battalions, commanded by Major-General BUTLER, formed the first line, and the left wing consisting of BEDINGER'S and GAT:

HER's battalions, and the second regiment commanded by Col. DRAKE, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow.

The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek, a steep bank, and FAULKNER's corps, some of the cavalry and their piquets covered the left flank; the militia were thrown over the creek and advanced about one quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order; there were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but, fled with the utmost precipitation on the advance of the militia; at this place, which I judged to be about 15 miles from the Miami village, I had determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Maj. FERGUSON, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up, but they did not permit me to execute either; for on the 4th, about half an hour before sun-rise, and when the men had been just dismissed from the parade, (for it was a constant practice for to have them all under arms a considerable time before light,) an attack was made upon the militia; those gave way in a very little time, and rushed into camp, through Maj. BUTLER's battalion, which, together with part of CLARK's they threw into considerable disorder, and which notwithstanding the exertions of both these officers, was never altogether remedied, the Indians followed close at their heels; the fire however of the front line checked them, but almost instantaneously a very heavy attack began upon that line, and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise; the great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaugh-



ter; finding no great effect from the fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were fallen in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet.

Lieut. Col. DARR, was accordingly ordered to make a charge, with a part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards: but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned and the troops were obliged to give back in their return. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pursued back the troops that were posted there.

Another charge was made here by the second regiment, BUTLER's and CLARK's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times, and always with success—but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with some raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of made by the second regiment and BUTLER's battalion, Maj. BUTLER was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Capt. GREATER, was shot through the body.

Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed, except Capt. FORD, who was badly wounded, more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment; from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank—but in fact to gain the road: this was effected; and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it,

followed by the troops—Major CLARK with his battalion covering the rear.

The retreat in those circumstances, was, you may be sure a precipitate one—it was in fact a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned, but that was unavoidable, for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit (which continued about four miles) had ceased.

I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself, and the orders I sent forward, either to halt the front, or prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to.

The route continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock.

I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General BUTLER, Lieut. Col. OLDRAM, of the militia, Major FERGUSON, Major HART, and Major CLARK, are among the former.

I have now, Sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt, sensibly felt by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing Sir, to say to the charge of the troops but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy

upon the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it.—Neither were my own exertions wanting, but worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, or perhaps ought to have been.

We were overpowered by numbers ; but it is no more than justice to observe, that though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign.

At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, Sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate ; for I very much doubt, whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned, and if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of means of defence.

Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the fort, I called on the field officers for their advice what would be proper further to be done ; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a footing as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed : that it had been found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was probable, would be found so again ; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and there was no provision in it.

That provision were known to be upon the road at the distance of one or at most two marches ; that there



fore it would be proper to move without loss of time to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort.

This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion again at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour, part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort-Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads sent forward to Fort Jefferson.

I have said Sir, in the former part of my communication, that we were overpowered by numbers; of that however, I have no other evidence, but the weight of the fire which was always a most deadly one and generally delivered from the ground, few of the enemy shewing themselves on foot, except when they were charged and that in a few minutes our whole camp which extended above 350 yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters.

The loss, Sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General BUTLER, and Major FERGUSON, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty, I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

AUTHUR ST. CLAIR."

"Hon. Secretary of War."

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THE defeat of Gen. ST. CLAIR took place within six miles of the Miami village. The loss on this occasion was about six hundred killed and wounded (said to be nearly equal to BRADDOCK's defeat) with seven pieces of



artillery, and all the stores. Gen ST. CLAIR had about 1200 men, had reason to expect an attack and kept his men under arms all night, drawn up in a square. The attack commenced about dawn of day, on all the lines, but principally on the rear lines, which was composed of the militia. The Indians gave one fire and rushed on tomahawk in hand. The militia gave way to the centre; and before the artillery could be brought into action, the matrosses were all killed and it fell into the hands of the enemy.

It was retaken but was useless for want of men to manage the pieces. The action was continued obstinately until 9 o'clock, when the troops gave way. ST. CLAIR rallied his men, and brought them off in tolerable order, with most of the wounded to Fort Jefferson, 30 miles in the rear of the action. The enemy pursued five miles.


*The following is a copy of a return of the officers killed and wounded in the engagement :—*

**KILLED.**—1 Major-General, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 4 Majors, 11 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 9 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon.—Total 37.

**WOUNDED.**—2 Lieut. Colonels, 1 Major, 11 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon.—Total 27.

Besides the above, there was about 550 privates killed and many more wounded—few officers of distinction escaped except Gen. ST. CLAIR, who had many narrow escapes, eight balls passed through his clothes. The attack was conducted with astonishing intrepidity on the part of the Indians—in a few moments the General's tent was surrounded: however, he was rescued by a party of regular soldiers, who repelled the enemy with fixed bayonets. There was a party of the Chickasaw nation on their way to join Gen. ST. CLAIR, but did

not arrive in season—there was but one fellow only of that nation in the action, who killed and scalped eleven of the enemy with his own hands, and engaging with the twelfth, he fell, greatly lamented by the the Americans:

Major-General BUTLER was wounded and carried to a convenient place to have his wounds dressed, but an Indian having discovered the place to which he was conveyed, broke through the troops who attended him, and tomahawked and scalped the former before he was killed by the troops.—[ See Plate.]

Agreeable to the statement of the Indians, they killed 650 of the American troops, and took seven pieces of cannon—200 oxen and a great number of horses, but no prisoners—and that their loss was only fifty-six warriors killed.—They stated that they were 4000 strong, and were commanded by one of the Missasago Indians, who had been in the British service in the late war; that he planned and conducted the attack, which was even contrary to the opinion of a majority of the chiefs—and, that after the Americans began their retreat, he told the Indians they had killed enough, and that it was proper to give over the pursuit, and return and enjoy the booty they had taken—he was six feet in height, about 45 years of age, of a very sour and morose countenance, and apparently very crafty and subtle—his dress was Indian hose and moccasins, a blue petticoat that came half way down his thighs, and European waiscoat and surtout; his head was bound with an Indian cap that hung half way down his back, and almost entirely filled with plain silver broaches to the number of more than two hundred; he had two ear-rings to each ear; the upper part of each was formed of three silver medals about the size of a dollar; the lower part was formed of quarters of dollars, and fell more than 12 inches from his ears;

one from each ear over his breast—the other over his back ; he had three very large nose jewels of silver that were curiously painted.

The party of friendly Chickasaws, who were on their way to join the American troops arrived at Fort Jefferson two days after the bloody action.—They were commanded by PIOMINGO, or the Mountain Leader.—On their way they discovered that the troops had been defeated, but saw but one of the enemy, who, mistaking PIOMINGO's party for some of his own comrades, made up to them ; he perceived his mistake, but too late to retreat ; he was accosted by PIOMINGO, with "*Rascal you have been killing white men.*" He endeavoured to exculpate himself, but PIOMINGO ordered two of his warriors to expand his arms, and a third, an old man (for says PIOMINGO, "none of my young men shall disgrace themselves so much as to kill a wretch like thee") to shoot him through the heart, which was accordingly executed ; they afterwards took off his scalp.

During St. CLAIR's bloody engagement, Adjutant BURGESS received two wounds, the second of which proved mortal : after the receipt of the first, he continued to fight with distinguished gallantry ; the second unfortunately stopped his progress : faint with the loss of blood, he fell : a woman, who attended him and was particularly attached to him, raised him up, and while supporting him in her arms, received a ball in her breast, which put an immediate end to her existence !

Soon after Ensign WILSON (a much lamented youth) fell, one of the savages attempted to take off his scalp, which Col. DARRK perceiving, he hastened to the spot, and with his sword stabbed the miscreant through the body.

## INDIANS DEFEATED.

A few weeks after the defeat of the troops under Gen. ST. CLAIR, Gen. SCOTT despatched from the men under his command two spies to reconnoitre the enemy, who, when they arrived at the distance of a few miles from the fatal spot where the bloody action was fought, they discovered a large party of Indians diverting and enjoying themselves with the plunder they had taken, riding the bullocks, &c. and appeared to be mostly drunk—the men returned and communicated the important information to Gen. SCOTT, who immediately thereupon divided his troops into three divisions, advanced and fell on the enemy by surprise—the contest was short but victorious on the part of the American troops; two hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, all the cannon and stores in their possession retaken, and the remainder of the savage body put to flight.—Gen. SCOTT losing but six men, returned to head quarters in triumph, with most of the cattle, stores, &c.

Gen. SCOTT gave the following affecting account of the appearance of the field on which the bloody action between the American troops, under Gen. ST. CLAIR, and the savages, was fought :—"The place had a very melancholy appearance—nearly in the space of 550 yards lay 500 skull bones—300 of which were buried by my men while on the ground; from thence for five miles on, and from the roads through the woods, was strewn with skeletons, muskets, &c.

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## DEFEAT OF MAJOR M'MAHON.

On the 29th of July, 1794, Maj. M'MAHON marched with 80 riflemen, under the command of Capt. HARTS-



**MORN**, and 50 dragoons under the command of **Capt. TAYLOR**, for **Fort Recovery**, as an escort to 300 pack-horses loaded with flour for that garrison : on the morning following after they had deposited their loading, and were preparing to set out on their return, they were attacked by an army of 1200 Indians ; **Capt. HARTSHORN**, who had advanced with the riflemen about a quarter of a mile into the woods, immediately took post on a very strong commanding piece of ground near the garrison, and with unparalleled bravery, maintained the unequal fight, till **Maj. M'MAHON**, who had put himself at the head of the cavalry, was killed, as was **Capt. TAYLOR**, and **Cornet TERRY**, and many of the men wounded. The enemy now put their force against **Capt. HARTSHORN**, and in the moment when they were pushing to cut off his communication with the garrison, **Lieut. DARKE**, and **Ensign DON**, sallied out, at the head of 20 brave fellows, who turned out voluntarily on the occasion, and joined him, after beating the enemy back at the point of the bayonet ; at this instant the brave **Capt. HARTSHORN** received a shot which broke his thigh. **Lieut. CRAIG** was killed, and **Lieut. MARKS** taken prisoner. **Lieut. DARKE** now ordered a retreat, and in endeavoring to hold the enemy in check, so as to give the men time to save **Capt. HARTSHORN**, he received a shot in the groin. The enemy now pressed so hard as to compel the men to leave their captain.

Great numbers of the Indians must have been killed, as they came forward in solid columns, up to the muzzle of the guns. **Lieut. MICHAEL**, who was with **Captain HARTSHORN**, but whom he had detached with a few active men to the flank of the enemy, was now missing ; and while their companions in the fort were deploring their fate and had given them up as lost, they saw him and **Lieut. MARKS** rushing through the thick of the enemy

at opposite directions, and though numbers of guns were fired at them they got in safe, Lieut. *MICHAEL* lost every man of his party except three, and Lieut. *MARKS* got off by knocking down the Indian who took him.

The Indians were observed to carry off great numbers of killed and wounded on pack horses—the loss of the Americans was 25 killed, and about 40 wounded—the party commanded by Capt. *HANTSHORN* brought in ten scalps of the enemy.

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## CHAP. XI.

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### DEPREDACTIONS OF THE INDIANS ON THE FRONTIERS IN 1791, 1792 AND 1793.

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ON the 10th December 1791, as two men and three boys were fishing on Floyd's fork of Salt River, they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, who killed the two men and made prisoners of the boys.—Soon after they liberated one of the lads, first presenting him with a tomahawk, which they desired him to carry to his friends and inform them what had become of his companions!

About the 20th, a party of Indians attacked the house of a Mr. *CHENOWETH*, situated near the mouth of the Wabash, they killed and scalped two of his children and tomahawked and scalped his wife, whom they left for dead—Mr. C. (who had his arm broken by the fire of the savages) with the remainder of the family made their escape.—A sick daughter who was confined to her chamber, and who during the bloody affray had been forgotten by her father, remained ignorant of the horrid massacre until the succeeding day; when, no one of the family coming to her assistance, she succeeded in crawl-

ing down stairs, where she was inexpressibly shocked at the sight of a beloved parent stretched upon the floor, almost lifeless, and beside of whom lay the 'mangled bodies of her dear brothers. Fortunately, her unhappy father returned the succeeding day to the house, and conveyed the two surviving members of his family to the house of a friend, where they finally recovered.

On the 24th, a party of Indians attacked the dwelling house of a Mr. *JOHN MERRIL* in Nelson county, (Kentucky).—Mr. *MERRIL*, who was first alarmed by the barking of his dog, hastened to the door to discover the cause, on opening of which, he received the fire of the Indians which broke his right leg and arm—the Indians now attempted to enter the house, but was prevented by the doors being immediately closed and secured by Mrs. *MERRIL* and her daughter—the Indians succeeded in hewing away a part of the door, through which passage one of them attempted to enter, but the heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe and gave the ruffian a fatal blow ; after which she hauled him through the passage into the house !—the others (unconscious of the fate of their companion) supposing that they had now nearly succeeded in their object, rushed forward, four of which Mrs. *MERRIL* in like manner despatched before the others discovered their mistake.—The remaining Indians, after retiring for a few moments, returned and renewed their efforts to enter the house—despairing of succeeding at the door they got on the top of the house and attempted to descend the chimney, to prevent which Mr. *MERRIL* directed his little son to empty upon the fire the contents of a feather-bed, which had the desired effect, as the smoke and heat caused thereby, soon brought down rather unexpectedly two of the enemy :—Mr. *MERRIL* exerting every faculty at this critical moment, seized a billet of wood with

which he soon despatched the two half smothered Indians; while in the mean time his heroic wife was busily engaged in defending the door against the efforts of the only remaining one, whom she so severely wounded with an axe that he was soon glad to retire.

A prisoner who escaped from the enemy soon after the transaction, informed that the wounded savage above mentioned was the only one that escaped of the party; which consisted of eight—that on his return being asked by the prisoner “what news,” he answered “bad news for poor Indian, me lose a son, me lose a brother—the squaws have taken the breach clout and fight worse than the “*Long Knives* !”

Copy of a letter from a gentleman residing at the westward to a friend in New-York, dated,

*Marietta, February 1, 1792.*

“Our prospects are much changed.—Instead of peace and friendship with our Indian neighbors, a horrid savage war stares us in the face; the Indians, instead of being humbled by the destruction of the Shawanese towns, and brought to beg for peace, appear determined on a general war, in which our settlements are already involved.—On the evening of the second instant, they fell on a settlement about forty miles up the Muskingum, surprised a block-house, killed fourteen persons, and carried off three others. The persons killed are, John and Philip Stacy, sons to Col. William Stacy, from New-Salem, Ezra Putnam, son to Major Ezra Putnam, from Middletown, in Massachusetts, John Camp, from the same place, Jonathan Farewell, and James Cash, and William Patton, from New-Hampshire, Zebulon Throop, from Baare, William James, from Connecticut, Joseph Clark, from Rhode-Island, a man by the name of Meeks, with



his wife and children, from Virginia. These were all killed in and at the block-house. Francis and Isaac Choat, from Lancaster, and one Shaw, who kept at a hut about 50 rods from the block house, was not found by the party that went out, and it is hoped that they are prisoners.—What number of Indians were concerned in this mischief, or from what tribe, we know not, but from those Indians who till lately used to visit our settlements every day, withdrawing themselves entirely from our sight, ever since the expedition against the Shawanese, there is little reason to doubt but the Delewares and the Wiandotes, as well as others, have had a hand in this nefarious business.

“It is impossible for me to give a just idea of the distress into which this event has thrown the inhabitants, especially those of the out settlements. For my own part I have for some time been of opinion, that the spring would open with a general attack on the frontiers, in which event I did not expect we should escape, unless government should timely send troops for our protection, which we was in hopes would be the case. But it seems the enemy are determined to take advantage of our defenceless situation. I consider this event as the forerunner of other attacks of a more serious nature, and which may involve us in complete ruin, unless prevented by government immediately taking measures for our protection.—To their protection I conceive we always had an indisputable claim, which claim, if possible, is increased by the circumstances that have brought us under the resentment of the Indians, and at least, in some measure produced the mischief that we are fallen into.”

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman in Kentucky to his friend in Philadelphia, dated

*March 3, 1792.*

“As to the Indians, they have been troublesome all

winter. Since October last, 60 persons have been killed within the limits of this district, besides a number destroyed on the Ohio; among whom is our old acquaintance, Mr. JOHN MAY, late of Botetoute, whose exit deserves notice, because he was actuated by motives of humanity. The affair is thus related by a captive that has lately made his escape from the Indians, who was a spectator, and an unwilling instrument in the tragedy.

Mr. MAY, in descending the Great Kanhawa and Ohio, about the 20th of February last, discovered on the western shore of the latter, near the mouth of Sciokia, a white man, who, with a plaintive voice, was calling, for God's sake, to come and take a poor prisoner on board, that was endeavoring to escape from the savages. This had the intended effect. Mr. MAY ordered the boat towards the shore, and did not discover his mistake until the Indians rose up from their ambush, fired, shot him dead, and wounded some others of the passengers on board, who immediately endeavored to make off; but being told in the English tongue, they should have good quarters, surrendered without resistance. The Indians, however, on boarding the boat, massacred all, without discrimination. Two days after, the same party attempted to decoy three large boats ashore that were coming down from Fort Pitt, but luckily they were discovered in time, and our people sheered off. The enemy, being prepared, manned one of their-boats with about 30 warriors, and gave chase. The crews of two of the boats, fearing they might be overtaken, quitted them, and went on board the best sailer, where they threw overboard all the horses, and some heavy articles, and plied all their oars to effect their escape. The Indians also exerted themselves in the pursuit, keeping on a steady course for about 20 miles, notwithstanding 24 well armed white men were on board the American boat, with one of our Colonels of Militia.

Thus, for want of a little resolution and skill, a favorable opportunity was lost, to destroy a number of the vile enemies to the human race. The Indians, on their return, took possession of the two boats that were abandoned, and found in them 17 horses, 5000 dollars worth of merchandize, and considerable property, belonging to the emigrants.

Fort M'Intosh, on the Ohio, was a short time since attacked by a party of Indians—they secreted themselves near the fort and succeeded in killing the centinel on duty, they then rushed into the fort and discharged their pieces on those within, but one man was wounded, who, in endeavoring to escape, was tomahawked by an Indian. One ball just grazed the temple of Capt. FORBES, who commanded the guard, and four others struck the log above his head, the splinters and bits of which cut his face, and left it as if scarified. The garrison consisted of twenty men and there were about forty of the enemy.

Thus, sir, we find that Indian treaties do not secure our country from the depredations of the savages ; our last hope now is that the President of the United States will, ere long, adopt such measures as will prove the efficiency of the Federal Government, to protect the citizens of the United States, however remotely situated from the seat of government:"

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman in South-Carolina to a friend in New York, dated

*" Charleston, August 6, 1792.*

" An express arrived from Gen. PICKENS and Colonel ANDERSON, which brings advices to the Governor, stating, that a general Indian war on the western frontiers of the southern states seems inevitable ; that by intelligence from

the country of the Creeks, all the tribes except the Cousatawas are determined for war ; urged by GALPHIN, the successor of M'GILLIVRAY ; and that they have already commenced hostilities within the Carolina line, a party of them having killed and scalped a man on Tugaloo. We hear his excellency has ordered one third of the militia in the upper districts to be drafted, and held in readiness for immediate service, should the savages make further depredations on the frontiers.

" Yesterday evening a gentleman arrived here from Augusta, in Georgia, who informed us, that six of the Creek towns, with a number of Cherokees, had declared war against the United States, and were actually marching under the command of BOWLES and GALPHIN to attack the frontiers.

" On the 22d ult. the Indians, 37 in number, came to the house of a Mr. RICHARD THRESHER, in Augusta, and fired upon and killed Mr. THRESHER, two children and a negro woman ; Mrs. THRESHER, to avoid if possible the fate with which she was threatened, fled with an infant of about five or six weeks old in her arms, and leaped into the river ; the Indians pursued, shot her through each thigh and right breast, stabbed her in the left breast with a knife, cut her left arm nearly off, and then scalped her. In this horrid situation she remained until the neighbors could assemble in sufficient numbers to cross the river and pursue the Indians. As the first canoe was crossing she had strength enough to call for assistance, they went, found her hanging by a bush in water nearly up to her chin, her infant at the bottom of the river, a few yards from her. She lived 24 hours, and when informed by her physician that it was impossible for her to survive much longer, she with a fortitude that is rarely to be met with, called her friends around her, and in a calm but pathetic manner, gave her hand to each



one, wishing them a better fate than had befallen herself and family; and when after her speech failed, as neighbors were constantly coming in, she continued to give her hand until about five minutes before she resigned her breath, which was without a groan.

"Mrs. THRESHKer was about twenty five years of age, of a respectable family and elegant person, and possessed an uncommon education.

"On Thursday the 24th two men were killed in Franklin, and 40 horses carried off; and since the accounts above received, all the inhabitants on the frontiers have retreated into forts, without arms or ammunition.—At one meeting of near 40 persons they could only muster five old muskets; to heighten the horror of their condition, the Indians were momentarily expected.

"As similar murders are daily committed, it called up the spirit of 800 gallant fellows, who marched last week against the savages, determined to revenge the cruelties perpetrated on the infant, the mother, and the defenceless.

"To see the country all in forts, breaking up, leaving their farms, their houses and corn burnt up, is truly distressing. At this time nearly half the country are in forts.

"Captain KENTON with about 35 men, who went up the Ohio in order to intercept the Indians who took Morgan's station, fell in with a trail of a party of Indians on the waters of Point Creek, coming in to the settlement. He followed them, and at night observing he was near them, sent forward some spies to discover their fires; unluckily the spies fell in with their camp, and before they discovered it the Indians were alarmed by a dog who flew out at the spies; upon which the Indians fired on them; the spies returned the fire; upon hearing the firing the whole of the party came up, and the Indians retreated, leaving their baggage, amongst which was a quantity of powder, lead, and blankets, KENTON had

the man killed. It is supposed two Indians were killed and carried off, from some discoveries that were made next morning."

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Copy of a letter from Fort Washington, dated April 20th, 1792.

"On Tuesday morning the 6th inst. Major ADAMS, with 120 mounted volunteers from Kentucky, having charge of a large number of pack-horses laden with provisions, destined for the advanced posts, was most daringly attacked by nearly an equal party of Indians, although under cover of fort St. Clair—notwithstanding which, and that our people fought desperately, the Indians drove them into the fort, and carried off all the provisions and horses (both pack and cavalry) save about twenty killed and four wounded, and stripped the camp of every thing; carrying the whole off with most audacious insult and triumph. But as soon as the party were re-supplied with ammunition from the garrison, they sallied forth near a quarter of a mile from the enemy; but too late to recover the booty which the Indians had made. The courage and daring spirit of these people were particularly conspicuous on this occasion, as they fought almost under the guns of the Fort. Our loss was one captain and ten privates killed, and some wounded, besides horses and provisions estimated at fifteen thousand dollars. Two of the enemy were found dead a short distance from the field of action. If these Indians had writers among them, what honorable testimony and eulogy might they not give of the noble spirit and heroic bravery of the native American character, rather than depreciate it as the Europeans do. Two of our men have lately made their escape from the Miami villages and arrived here—they give account of a mock

fight lately exhibited to amuse the numerous Indians assembled there, and to divert their squaws and children. It was in ridicule of General ST. CLAIR's disposition of his troops on the 4th November last, and of his flight before the Indians, who pursued him and his army whilst the other plundered his camp; they have given out that they mean to celebrate this event annually, by a like sham fight and a great dance to be called General ST. CLAIR's fight and dance. It is to be hoped we yet shall have an opportunity to retaliate, and to teach our enemy to amuse themselves at our expence in a less ludicrous manner. It seems Gen. ST. CLAIR's field of action was on a branch of the Wabash, twenty-four leagues from the Miami towns, which are now inhabited by the hostile Indians.

"A letter from a correspondent, on whose veracity we can rely; in the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio, dated the 17th ult. states that every thing wears a gloomy aspect on the western frontiers; that about the last of December, the Cherokees sent in peace talkers to Governor BLOUNT, which were only intended to facilitate the commission of further depredations by them, when the guards from our out-posts were withdrawn; that from the 16th to the 26th of January, the Indians killed and wounded 19 persons in Cumberland, among whom was EWIN SHELBY, brother to the Governor of Kentucky; that four of the Chickamogga towns and the upper Creeks have declared war; that the Creeks had killed a family in the county of Georgia; that the barbarity exercised by them in this massacre, was enough to make human nature shudder at the bare recital.—They butchered them like so many dogs, caught their blood and bowels, exposed them to view, and then gave the whole to a tame bear to devour; that the Cherokees had killed two Creeks, wounded several, and taken

two prisoners; that the Creeks threaten to retaliate, and cut them all off; that the inhabitants of the territory are waiting with impatience for the general government to afford them succour and protection, that treaties with the savages will avail nothing, as, what promises they make to day they will not hesitate to break to-morrow."

Copy of a letter from Mr. *JOHN CORBLT*, (a baptist minister) to his friend in Philadelphia, dated

" *Muddy Creek, (Penn.) Sept. 1, 1792.*

" *Dear Sir,*

" The following are the particulars of the destruction of my unfortunate family by the savages—On the 10th May last being my appointment to preach at one of my meeting houses, about a mile from my dwelling house, I sat out with my loving wife and five children, for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind a few rods with my bible in my hand, meditating.—As I was thus employed, on a sudden, I was greatly alarmed by the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me—I immediately ran to their relief with all possible speed, vainly hunting a club as I ran—when within a few yards of them, my poor wife observing me cried out to me to make my escape—at this instant an Indian ran up to shoot me, I had to strip and by so doing out run him. My wife had an infant in her arms which the Indians killed and scalped, after which they struck my wife several times, but not bringing her to the ground, the Indian who attempted to shoot me approached her and shot her through the body, after which they scalped her!—my little son, about six years old, they despatched by sinking their hatchets into his brains!—my little daughter, four years old, they in like manner killed and



scalped! My eldest daughter attempted an escape by concealing herself in a hollow tree, about six rods from the fatal scene of action—observing the Indians retiring (as she supposed) she deliberately crept from the place of her concealment, when one of the Indians, who yet remained on the ground, espying her, ran up to her and with his tomahawk knocked her down and scalped her!—but, blessed be God, she yet survives, as does her little sister whom the savages in like manner tomahawked and scalped—they are mangled to a shocking degree, but the doctors think there are some hopes of their recovery.

When I supposed the Indians gone I returned to see what had become of my unfortunate family—whom, alas! I found in the situation above described:—No one, my dear friend, can form a true conception of my feelings at this moment—a view of a scene so shocking to humanity quite overcome me—I fainted, and was unconsciously borne off by a friend who at the instant arrived to my relief.

Thus, dear sir, have I given you a faithful though a short narrative of the fatal catastrophe—and amidst which my life is spared, but for what purpose the Great Jehovah best knows—oh, may I spend it to the praise and glory of his grace, who worketh all things after the council of his own will—the government of the world and the church is in his hands. I conclude with wishing you every blessing, and subscribe myself your affectionate though afflicted friend, and unworthy brother in the gospel ministry.

JOHN CORBLY."

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On the 27th September, 1792, as five gentlemen (Messrs. JACOBUS TALLER, ISAAC ARNOLD, JAMES STEWART, DANIEL BARCLAY, and ISAAC VAN ALSTYNE,) were on their way to Detroit, at a place called the river Burdel, on Lake Erie, they were suddenly attacked by

four Mahagon or Delaware Indians (armed with muskets and tomahawks) who fired on them and killed Mr. TALLER and Mr. BARCLAY dead on the spot, and wounded Mr. ARNOLD—they then rushed on with their tomahawks—one attacked Mr. ARNOLD, who, after a smart struggle, in which he received several wounds in his head, disengaged himself, and having a musket at the instant presented him by Mr. STEWART, snapped it (it unfortunately not being charged) at the Indian, who immediately thereupon with the three others fled to the woods. As soon as they had disappeared, Mr. ARNOLD and his companion hastened to the shore of the lake, in which they launched their batteau, but when about thirty rods from the shore, they were hailed by M. VAN ALSTYNE, who during the bloody contest had secreted himself in the bushes—he begged of his companions to return and take him on board, on which Mr. ARNOLD requested him to proceed a few rods down the lake to a point of land, where he could more conveniently take him in—Mr. VAN ALSTYNE, it was supposed, misunderstanding his friend, proceeded directly up the lake, to the very spot where the Indians were then assembled, who with their tomahawks instantly despatched him; after which they followed the two survivors, in an old canoe, two or three miles down the lake, but being unable to overhaul them, they discontinued the pursuit.

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Copy of a letter from a gentleman in Marietta to his friend in Washington, dated

*"Marietta, March 4, 1793.*

"About eight weeks since, two brothers by the name of JOHNSON, one 12, the other 9 years old, were playing on the western bank of Short Creek, about twelve miles from Weeling, skipping stones in the water.—At a dis-

tance they discovered two men, who appeared to be settlers, being dressed with coats and hats.—These men to amuse and deceive the children (as they even shewed) engaged in the same sport, advancing towards the boys, till by degrees they got so near that the children discovered them to be Indians; but it was then too late to make their escape. The Indians seized and carried them six miles into the woods, where they made a fire, and took up their lodgings for the night; their rifles and tomahawks they rested against a tree, and then laid down, each Indian with a boy on his arm. The children as may be supposed kept awake—the eldest begun to move, and finding his Indian sound asleep, by degrees disengaged himself, and went to the fire, which had then got low and stirred it up; the Indian not waking, he whispered to his brother, who likewise crept away, and both of them went to the fire. The oldest boy then observed to his brother, “I think we can kill these Indians, and get away from them”—the youngest agreed in the proposal of attempting it. The oldest then took one of the rifles, and placed the muzzle, which he rested on a small stick that he found for the purpose, close to the head of one of the Indians, and committing the execution of this part of the business to his brother, ordered him to pull the trigger at the moment he saw him strike the other Indian with one of the tomahawks. The oldest gave the signal! the youngest pulled trigger—the rifle shot away the lower part of the Indian’s face and left him senseless; he then told his brother to lay on, for he had done for his; after which he snatched up the gun and ran; the boy with the tomahawk gave the stroke with the wrong end, the Indian started on his seat—the boy found the mistake, and turning the tomahawk in his hand, gave him another blow which brought him to the ground; he repeated his strokes until he had despatched him, and

then made the best of his way after his brother. When the boys had found the path which they recollected to have travelled before, the oldest fixed his hat on a bush, as a directory to find the scene of action the next day. The tomahawked Indian was found near the place where the boys had left him. The other was not there ; but was tracked by his blood, and although so weakened by his wounds, that he could not raise his rifle to fire at his pursuers (the whites) they suffered him to escape ; but it is supposed he must have died of his wounds. These two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre the best place for an attack, which was to have been made by a body of warriors, waiting in the neighborhood.

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Copy of a letter from Colonel ROBERTSON, to General WASHINGTON, dated

*Nashville, February 1, 1793.*

" SIR—By accounts received from the Chickasaw nation of Indians, we are informed that at a grand council of their warriors, it was unanimously determined to commence active operations against the whites ; the Cherokees they expect will join them. The white inhabitants in this quarter are drawing together, and are doing every thing possible for their defence, but I fear without some timely assistance we shall all fall a sacrifice to the wanton barbarity of our savage foes, who we expect are now on their way to this place, to the number of one thousand. Major HALL and his eldest son fell a sacrifice to their fury two days ago, near Bedloe's Lick. They have killed about twenty-four persons in the course of a few months in this settlement, besides a great number more near it.

From Burke county we learn that on the 11th instant,



two men, a woman, and her little daughter, were scalped at William's Swamp, on the Ogechee river, by a party of Indians—the little girl (to deter them from their cruel design) held out a bottle of honey, telling them it was rum, begging them in the mean time to spare her life—they told her they did not want rum, but her hair! they knocked her down and scalped her, but we are happy to learn she is in a fair way of recovery.

By a letter from Kentucky, I am informed that the Indians have done more mischief in that state the present year, than for at least four years past. Scarce a boat can pass below Limestone but what is attacked by them; six or seven have been captured, some with very valuable lading—by a prisoner who escaped from them a short time since, we are informed that the Indians have procured a boat, or rather a kind of floating battery, with the sides built high and rendered bullet proof; this boat is stationed near the mouth of the Great Miami. They a few days since captured a boat in which were a Capt. ASHLEY and his family—a son of the captain having been very spirited in the opposition, the savages immediately put him to death, cut out his heart and broiled it which they afterwards devoured in the presence of the unhappy father, who has since made his escape from them—a proceeding so barbarous as this, I have never heard of being practised by the savages before."

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Copy of a letter from General CLARKE, to his Excellency the Governor of the State of Georgia, dated

*"Long Creek, Sept. 24, 1793.*

"SIR—I had certain information that a man was killed on the 14th near Greensborough, by a party of six or seven Indians; and that on the 16th Col. BARNER, with a small party was waylaid by 50 or 60 Indians, by whom

three of his party were killed. This, together with a variety of other accounts equally alarming, determined me to raise what men I could in the course of 24 hours and march with them to protect the frontiers, in which space of time I collected 162 men, chiefly volunteers, and proceeded to the place where Col. BARBER had been attacked, where I found the bodies of the three men mentioned above, mangled in a shocking manner, and after I had buried them, proceeded on the trail of the murderers as far as the south fork of the Oakmulgee, where, finding I had no chance of overtaking them, I left it and went up the said river, until I met with a fresh trail of Indians coming in towards our frontier settlements; I immediately turned and followed this trail until the morning of the 21st, between 11 and 12 o'clock, when I came up with them. They had just crossed a branch, called Jack's Creek, through a thick cane brake, and were encamped and cooking on an eminence. My force then consisting of 130 men, 30 having been sent back on account of their horses being tired and lost. I drew up my men in three divisions, the right commanded by Col. FREEMAN and Major CLARKE, who were ordered to surround and charge the Indians, which they did with such dexterity and spirit that they immediately drove them from their encampment back into the cane brake, where, finding it impossible for them to escape, they obstinately returned our fire until half past four o'clock, when they ceased, except now and then a shot.

"During the latter part of the action they seized every opportunity of escaping by small parties, leaving the rest to shift for themselves. About sunset I thought it most adviseable to draw off, as the men had suffered for want of provisions nearly two days, and for want of water during the action, but more particularly to take care of the wounded, which amounted to eleven, and six kil-

led! From every circumstance I am certain there were not less than 25 Indians killed, and probably double that number wounded.—In short they were totally defeated, with the loss of their provisions, cloathing, &c. consisting of the following articles : 4 muskets, 32 brass kettles, and 100 large packs, containing blankets, match-coats, boots, moccasins, tomahawks, pipes, upwards of 100 halters and bridles, &c. from all which I judge their number was fully equal to ours. Col. FREEMAN and Major CLARKE distinguished themselves, and from the spirit and bravery with which the whole of my little party acted during the action, I do not believe that had we met them in the open woods, we should have been more than five minutes in destroying them all.

“ While I was on this excursion two skirmishes happened near Greensborough, in one of which one man was wounded, and in the other six stand of arms were lost, being guarded by only two men, while the rest of the party were gathering fodder.

“ I am, Sir, with the utmost respect, your Excellency’s most obedient, and very humble servant,

“ B. CLARKE, *Brig. Gen.*

“ *His Ex. George Mathews, Governor of Georgia.*”

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Copy of a letter from an officer in the service of the United States to his friend in New-York, dated

“ *Buffaloe Creek, Sept. 27, 1793.*

“ I left Fort Franklin the 3d instant, and arrived here the 11th in the evening, at the house of Mr. WINNEY, who informs me that upwards of four thousand hostile Indians were now assembled at the Miami villages, and that their number was daily increasing—Captain POWEL and several other gentlemen of the British army dined with me yesterday, and from their conversation I am perfectly

convinced that the Indians are supported by the British in the war against us—indeed, Captain POWELL told me, that all the intentions of the Indians was well known to them, and the Indians were their allies, and of course they must support them—he also informed me that ten scouts of hostile Indians were then out to strike on the frontiers, and that they would soon strike the Six Nations. Some of the chiefs of the hostile Indians passed here about five days ago on their way to Canada, but what their business is I cannot learn.”

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CHAP. XII.

DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS BY GEN. WAYNE,  
AUGUST 20th, 1794.

GEN. WAYNE TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

“SIR,

“IT is with infinite pleasure that I announce to you the brilliant success of the Federal army under my command, in a general action with the combined force of the hostile Indians, and a considerable number of the volunteers and militia of Detroit on the 20th August, on the banks of the Miamis, in the vicinity of the British post and garrison at the foot of the Rapids.

The army advanced from Fort Washington on the 15th, and arrived at Roach De Bout on the 18th, and the 19th, we were employed in making a temporary post for the reception of our stores and baggage, and in reconnoitring the position of the enemy who were encamped behind a thick bushy wood and the British fort.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the army again advanced in columns agreeable to the standing or-



der of the march, the legion on the right, its right flank covered by the Miamis—one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left under Brigadier-General TODD, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General BARBEZ. A select battalion, of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legation, commanded by Major PRICE, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, and to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major PRICE's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat.

The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood which extended for miles on our left and for a very considerable distance in front, the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favourable covert for their mode of warfare; the Savages were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favourite ground, and endeavouring to turn our left flank; I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance to support the first, and directed Major General SCOTT to gain and turn the right flank of the Savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well directed fire on their backs, fol-

lowed by a brisk charge so as not to give them time to load again, or to form their lines.

I also ordered Capt. M. CAMPBELL, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in—all those orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of Infantry that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were drove from all their coverts, in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion and by Generals SCOTT, WOOD, and BARBER, of the mounted volunteers to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action, the enemy being drove in the course of one hour more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned by less than one half their number.

From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants, the troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred.—This horde of Savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my approbation.

Lieutenant COVINGTON, upon whom the command of the cavalry devolved (Capt. CAMPBELL being killed) cut down two Savages with his own hand, and Lieutenant WEBB one, in turning the enemy's left flank.

The wounds received by Captains SLOUGH, PRIOR, VAN RANSELAER and RAWLINS, and Lieutenants M.

**Kenny and Smith**, bear honorable testimony of their bravery and conduct ; in fact every officer and soldier who had an opportunity to come into action displayed that true bravery which will always insure success ; and here permit me to declare that I have never discovered more true spirit and anxiety for action than appeared to pervade the whole of the mounted volunteers, and I am well persuaded, that had the enemy maintained their favorite ground for one half hour longer they would have most severely felt the prowess of that corps.

But whilst I pay this just tribute to the living I must not neglect the gallant dead, among whom we have to lament the early death of those worthy and brave officers, **Capt. CAMPBELL** and **Lieut. TOWLES**, who fell in the first charge.

The loss of the enemy was more than double to that of the federal army—the woods were strewn for a considerable distance with dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets. We remained three days and nights on the banks of the **Miamis**, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance above and below the garrison, among which were the houses, stores and property of **Col. M'KEE**, the British Indian agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to head quarters on the 37th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the **Miamis**. It is not improbable but that the enemy may make one desperate effort against the army, as it is said a reinforcement was hourly expected at **Fort Miamis** from **Niagara**, as well as numerous tribes of Indians living on the margins and islands of the lakes. This is an event rather to be wish-

ed for than dreaded whilst the army remains in force, their numbers will only tend to confuse the savages, and the victory will be the more complete and decisive, and which may eventually insure a permanent and happy peace.

The following is a return of the killed and wounded and missing of the federal army, in the late action, to wit:—

KILLED—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 3 Sergeants, 28 privates—Total 33.

WOUNDED—4 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 84 privates—Total 100.

I have the honor to be, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE."

*" To the Secretary of War."*

The following circumstances, which took place previous to and during Gen. WAYNE's engagement, are worthy of record.

At the instant Capt. CAMPBELL was attempting to turn the left flank of the enemy, three of them plunged into the river—two friendly negroes being on the opposite side, and observing the Indians making for the shore, they placed themselves on the bank behind a log, and as soon as the Indians approached within shot, one of the negroes fired and killed one of the Indians; the other two got hold of him to drag him out, when the other negro fired and killed another; the remaining Indian got hold of both those dead to pull them ashore, when the negro who killed the first having again reloaded fired and killed the third, and they all floated down the river.

Another circumstance is also related, viz. A soldier, soon after the conclusion of the action, proceeding some distance from the camp, met an Indian; they attacked



each other, the soldier with his bayonet, and the Indian with his tomahawk ; some of the soldiers passing by that way two days after, found them both dead, the soldier with his bayonet in the body of the Indian, and the Indian with his tomahawk in the soldier's head.

The following circumstance took place previous to the action :—A Mr. WELLS, who, when very young, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and had resided several years among them, had made his escape and was employed by Gen. WAYNE as a spy.—The day before the action he was taken by the Indians, who determined to put him to death. Finding it impossible to escape, he informed them that Gen. WAYNE had not 500 men under his command and did not expect an attack. On hearing this, the Indians attacked Gen. WAYNE with a confidence inspired by their (supposed) superiority of numbers, and were repulsed as before mentioned. After the action, Maj. CAMPBELL, (in whose custody the Indians had left WELLS) enquired his motives for deceiving them ; he answered, "*for the good of my country,*"—For this heroic action, he was unfeelingly delivered to the Indians, in whose hands it is supposed he experienced every torture that savage barbarity could invent or inflict.—The circumstances respecting Mr. WELLS, were related by a British drummer who deserted from the fort to General WAYNE.

A council of Indians was held a few days after their defeat by Gen. WAYNE, in which British Agents endeavored to persuade them to risk another action, but this they refused to do, expressing a willingness to bury the bloody hatchet and return to their homes—their loss they declared to be 200, and that their whole force at the commencement of the action amounted to 1500 Indians and 80 Canadians. The body of the Collector of Niagara was found among the slain.

## CONCLUSION.

INNUMERABLE were the instances of Savage barbarity exercised toward the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers, from the year 1783 to that of 1793—we have recorded but a small number of them, but a number sufficiently large, we presume, to convince the reader of their enormity—not until those unfortunate people had repeatedly solicited the aid of Government, did the latter consent to take up arms for the protection of their defenceless brethren;—when every pacific measure failed—when every proposal of peace, however just and equitable, was rejected and treated with disdain—humanity dictated that recourse should be had to more effectual measures to put a stop to the murderous career of an unnatural enemy.—Hence the commencement of hostilities by the Americans, and hence the expeditions of Generals HARMER, SCOTT, WILKINSON, ST. CLAIR and WAYNE;—and although two of the former were defeated with no inconsiderable loss, the glorious victory of the latter brought about the desirable event—the enemy were taught thereby the superiority of the whites, even in their favorite mode of warfare—they buried the hatchet and sued for peace, and a Treaty (satisfactory to both parties) soon followed, to the articles of which, they have ever since and continue faithfully to adhere.

The following list of names of the various Indian nations in North-America, in 1794, with the number of their fighting men, was obtained by a gentleman (Mr. BENJAMIN HAWKINS) employed in the above mentioned Treaty :

The Choctaws or Flatheads, 4500—Natches, 150—Chickasaws, 750—Cherokees, 2500—Catabas, 150—Piantas, a wandering tribe, 800—Kissquororas, 600—Har-

Kashaws, 250—Oughtenons, 400—Kikapous, 300—Del-  
 awares, 300—Shawanece, 300—Miamies, 305—Upper  
 Creeks, Middle Creeks and Lower Creeks, 4000—Cow-  
 itas, 700—Alibomas, 600—Akinsaws, 200—Ansaus, 1000  
 —Padomas, 500—white and freckled Pianis, 4000—Cau-  
 ses, 1600—Osages, 600—Grand Saux, 1000—Missouri,  
 3000—Saux of the Wood, 1800—Blances, or white In-  
 dians with beard, 1500—Asinboils, 1500—Christian Cau-  
 zes, 3000—Ouisconsin, 500—Mascotins, 500—Lakes,  
 400—Muherouakes, 250—Folle Avoines, or Wildoats,  
 350—Puans, 700—Powatamig, 350—Missasagues, wan-  
 dering tribe, 2000—Otabas, 900—Chipewas, 5000—Wi-  
 andora, 300—Six Nations, 1500—Round Heads, 2500—  
 Algoquins, 5000—Nepisians, 400—Chalsas, 130—Ami-  
 testes, 550—Muckniacks, 700—Abinaguia, 350—Cena-  
 way Hurins, 200.—Total, 58780.

*FINIS.*

## APPENDIX:

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*Gov. HARRISON's engagement with the SAVAGES on the  
Wabash, November 7, 1811.*

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WE should have been extremely happy to have closed, as we anticipated, the list of Savage barbarities with the last chapter ; but, after a cessation of hostilities on their part of more than sixteen years, we find them once more collecting in a formidable body on our frontiers, and (instigated by a blood-thirsty savage, of the Shawanoe tribe, termed "The PROPHET") commencing an unprovoked attack on the American troops stationed thereon.

The conduct of the Wabash Indians, becoming suspicious to our government, in consequence of their many thievish excursions and hasty preparation for an offensive attack, Gov. HARRISON, with 1200 men, (350 regulars and the remainder militia) were ordered to proceed from the neighborhood of Vincennes to the line, and demand of the Prophet the object of his real intentions. The troops commenced their march on the 26th September, and nothing important occurred until their arrival on the line, where they remained near a month, and built a strong fort, which in honor to the commander in chief, was called Fort HARRISON.—The Indians in a friendly manner almost every day visited camp, and held councils with the Governor, but would not accede to his terms, which were that their leader (the PROPHET) should give up the property stolen from the Americans, and send all their warriors to their different tribes ;—the Governor therefore determined on attacking them. On the 29th October the troops left Fort Harrison and took up their line of march



for the Prophet's town, where they arrived on the 6th November. When within about half a mile of the town the troops formed the line of battle, which the Indians perceiving, sent three of their chiefs with a flag of truce, begging that their lives might be spared, pledging themselves that they would not take up the tomahawk against the troops, and that if they would encamp near the town, in the morning they would come to such terms as the Governor should propose.—This lulled the troops into security, and they encamped about half a mile back of the town. Fifteen minutes before 5 o'clock the next morning the savages commenced a furious attack on the left flank of the troops—but a single gun was fired by the centinels or the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon capt. Barton's company of the 4th U. S. regiment, and capt. Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed.

Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and

with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as the Governor could mount his horse, he rode to the angle that was attacked—he found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. He immediately ordered Cook's company and the late captain Wentworth's, under lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. His attention was there engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States riflemen (then however armed with muskets) and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. He found major Davis forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, he directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front, and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by captain Snelling at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe: captain Spencer and his first and second lieutenants were killed, and captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies however still bravely

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maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, the commander reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States regiment. His great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until day light, which should enable them to make a general and effectual charge. With this view he had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, he withdrew from the front line, Snelling's, Posey's (under lieut. Albright) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Willson's and Norris's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time ordered Cook's and Baen's companies, the former from the rear and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing his intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, had charged the enemy before he had formed the body of Dragoons with which he meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were however ready and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lt. Larebee had marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight.

The action was maintained with the greatest obstinacy



and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool and deliberate valor which is characteristic of the christian soldier:

Capt. Spencer was wounded in the head—he exhorted his men to fight valiantly—he was shot through both thighs, and fell, still continuing to encourage them—he was raised up, and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence. Captain Warwick was shot immediately through the body; being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over (being a man of great bodily vigor and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

There were about 179 of the troops killed and wounded; it was supposed the enemy were about 700 strong and that they lost about 400 in the engagement. The day proceeding the action the troops set fire to their town and destroyed every thing valuable, and the morning ensuing struck their tents and commenced their march for Vincennes, where they in safety arrived after a most fatiguing campaign of 55 days, and marching the distance of 320 miles.

*The following is a list of the killed and wounded of the army, in the engagement.—*

*Killed*—One Aid de-Camp, one Captain, two Subalterns, one Sergeant, two Corporals, thirty privates.

*Wounded, since dead*—One Major, two Captains, twenty-two privates.

*Wounded*—Two Lieut. Colonels, one Adjutant, one Surgeon's Mate, two Captains, three Subalterns, nine Sergeants, five Corporals, one Musician, one hundred and two privates.

Total of killed and wounded—183.



*Names of Officers killed and wounded, as per General Return  
General Staff.*

*Killed*—Col. Abraham Owens, aid-de-camp to the commander in chief.

*Field and Staff.*

*Wounded*—Lieut. Col. Joseph Bartholemews, commanding Indiana militia infantry ; Lt. Col. Luke Decker, of do. Maj. Joseph H. Daviess, since dead, commanding a squadron of dragoons ; Doctor Edward Scull, of the Indiana militia ; Adjutant James Hunter, of mounted riflemen.

*United States Infantry, including the late Capt. Whitney's rifle company.*

*Wounded*—Capt. W. C. Bean, acting major, since dead ; Lieut. George P. Peters ; Lieut. George Gooding ; Ensign Henry Burchstead.

*Colonel Decker's detachment of Indiana militia.*

*Wounded*—Captain Jacob Warrick, since dead.

*Major Redman's detachment of Indiana militia.*

*Wounded*—Capt. John Norris.

*Major Wells's detachment of mounted riflemen.*

*Wounded*—Capt. Frederick Guiger.

*Capt. Spencer's company, including Lt. Berry's detachment of mounted riflemen.*

*Killed*—Captain Spier Spencer ; First Lieut. Richard McMahan ; Lieut. Thomas Berry.



Copy of a letter from Governor HARRISON to the Hon. Secretary of War, a few weeks after the action, dated  
Vincennes, Dec. 4, 1811.

"SIR—I have the honor to inform you that two principal Chiefs of the Kickapoos of the Prairie arrived here bearing a flag, on the evening before last. They inform,

ed that they came in consequence of a message from the Chief of that part of the Kickapoos which had joined the Prophet, requiring them to do so, and that the said chief is to be here himself in a day or two. The account which they give of the late confederacy under the Prophet is as follows :

“ The Prophet with his Shawanoes is at a small Huron village about twelve miles from his former residence, on this side the Wabash, where also are twelve or fifteen Hurons. The Kickapoos are encamped near the Tippi-canon. The Potawatimies have scattered and gone to different villages of that tribe. The Winebagoes had all set out on their return to their own country excepting one chief and nine men who remained at their former village. The latter had attended Tecumseh in his tour to the southward, and had only returned to the Prophet's town the day before the action.—The Prophet had sent a message to the Kickapoos of the prairie, to request that he might be permitted to retire to their town—this was positively refused, and a warning sent to him not to come there. He then sent to request that four of his men might attend the Kickapoo chief here—this was also refused. These chiefs say on the whole, that all the tribes who lost warriors in the late action, attribute their misfortune to the Prophet alone. That they constantly reproach him with their misfortunes, and threaten him with death—that they are all desirous of making their peace with the United States—that the Prophet's followers were fully impressed with a belief, that they could defeat us with ease—that it was their intention to have attacked us at Fort Harrison if we had gone no higher—that the attack made on our centinels at Fort Harrison was intended to shut the door against accommodation—that the Winebagoes had forty warriors killed in the action, and the Kickapoos eleven and ten wounded—they

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have never heard how many Potawatamies and other tribes were killed--that the Potawatomie chief left by me on the battle ground is since dead of his wounds, but that he faithfully delivered my speech to the different tribes and warmly urged them to abandon the Prophet and submit to my terms."

I cannot say, Sir, how much of the above may be depended on. I believe however, that the statement made by the chief is generally correct, particularly with regard to the present disposition of the Indians. It is certain that our frontiers have never enjoyed more profound tranquility than at this time. Before the expedition not a fortnight passed over without some vexatious depredation being committed. The Kickapoo chiefs certainly tell an untruth, when they say that there was but eleven of this tribe killed and ten wounded. It is impossible to believe that fewer were wounded than killed. They acknowledge, however, that the Indians have never sustained so severe a defeat since their acquaintance with the white people.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

*Hon. Wm. EUSTIS, Secretary of War."*











MAR 19 1970



